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A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D.

DEAN OF ELY

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THE
WISDOM OF SOLOMON

In the Revised Version

With Introduction and Notes

by

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PREFACE

BY THE

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THE present General Editor for the Old Testament in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges desires to say that, in accordance with the policy of his predecessor the Bishop of Worcester, he does not hold himself responsible for the particular interpretations adopted or for the opinions expressed by the editors of the several Books, nor has he endeavoured to bring them into agreement with one another. It is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion in regard to many questions of criticism and interpretation, and it seems best that these differences should find free expression in different volumes. He has endeavoured to secure, as far as possible, that the general scope and character of the series should be observed, and that views which have a reasonable claim to consideration should not be ignored, but he has felt it best that the final responsibility should, in general, rest with the individual contributors.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

FROM YOUTH TO OLD AGE TAKE WISDOM FOR THY SUSTENANCE: OF ALL POSSESSIONS IT ALONE ABIDETH.

BIAS.

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Wisdom is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty; therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her. For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness. And she, being one, hath power to do all things; and remaining in herself, reneweth all things: and from generation to generation passing into holy souls she maketh *men* friends of God and prophets.

Wisdom vii. 25—27.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Title.*

The book is known as the *Wisdom of Solomon* in the three oldest extant Gk. MSS., ℵAB, and in each case occupies the same position relatively to the other Wisdom-books, i.e. it follows Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (and Song of Solomon), and precedes Ecclesiasticus, the position of Job being variable[1].

In the Syriac Version, it is known as the "Book of the Great Wisdom of Solomon, son of David," and in the Arabic, as the "Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, son of King David, who ruled over the children of Israel."

Cyprian (d. 258) quotes Wisdom frequently, and habitually refers to it as *Solomon*, or the *Wisdom of Solomon*: Tertullian (*praescr. haer.* vii.) had cited it under the latter title. Jerome (*praef. in libr. Salom.*) unhesitatingly describes it as pseudepigraphic, and, doubtless under his influence, the title given to it in the Vulgate was simply *Liber Sapientiae*: while St Augustine (*Civ. Dei* xvii. 20), though aware of the tradition of the Solomonic authorship, acknowledged that the best writers denied its truth, although an early ecclesiastical custom in the West had lent authority to it (see also Aug. *de doct. Chr.* ii. 13).

The reference in the Western "Muratorian Canon" (about 220 A.D.?) to "Wisdom, written by the friends of Solomon in his honour," is very obscure; but cp. Intr. p. xx, n. 1.

Among the Greek fathers, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv.

[1] The title varies thus:—Σοφία Σαλωμῶνος B. Σ. Σαλομῶντος ℵ. Σ. Σολομῶντος A and Cod. Ven. For the names given to *Wisdom* in Patristic and Synodical lists of the Eastern and Western Church, see Dr Swete's *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, pp. 203—214.

16) and Origen (*Ep. ad Rom.* vii. 14) both call it the *Divine Wisdom*, although the former also knows it as the *Wisdom of Solomon* (*Str.* vi.), and the latter refers to it as the "Wisdom named that of Solomon" (*adv. Cels.* v. 29). The *Wisdom* mentioned by Melito (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26) is almost certainly the Book of Proverbs, the canon to which he refers being Palestinian (cp. that of Origen, Eus. *H. E.* vi. 25). Epiphanius (*de mens. et pond.* § 4) and John of Damascus (*de fid. orth.* iv. 17) call it ἡ πανάρετος, "The Wisdom which comprises all virtues[1]." This title was probably given in connection with the series of attributes ascribed to Wisdom in ch. vii. 22 f, and is also accorded to *Proverbs* by Clement of Rome (*Ep. ad Cor.* § 57), and by Hegesippus and Irenaeus (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 22), and to *Ecclesiasticus* by Jerome (*praef. in libr. Salom.*).

§ 2. *Date.*

As will be seen below, the Solomonic date for the Book of Wisdom is impossible. Some writers have placed it as early as the end of the 3rd cent. B.C., others as late as the middle of the 1st cent. A.D.

Wisdom could not have been written before the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. This is proved by its relation to the Greek version of the prophets and hagiographa. Undoubted use is made of the Greek version of Isaiah (ii. 12, cp. Is. iii. 10; xv. 10, cp. Is. xliv. 20), the author quoting from the Greek where it differs from the Hebrew; and of Job (xii. 12, cp. Job ix. 12, 19): accordingly Wisdom was written after these books were translated. But, inasmuch as the LXX. version of the Pentateuch was not made until the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (284—246 B.C.), it is unlikely that the canon of the prophetic and historical books which was not fixed until about 300—250 B.C. (see Hastings, *D. B.* iii. 612), and still less the canon of the hagiographa, would call for translation into Greek, either in whole or in part, until some considerable time later. Therefore, the

[1] Πανάρετος is the alternative title given to *Wisdom* in the list of books prefixed to Cod. A. Epiphanius calls it "The Wisdom of Solomon called ἡ πανάρετος"; John of Damascus "ἡ πανάρετος, that is, the Wisdom of Solomon."

earliest approximate date for a book which made use of these translations is the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.

On the other hand, Wisdom might have been written before 132 B.C. By that date, a Greek version of the prophets and possibly of the hagiographa was known to the translator of the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach (Swete, *Introd. to O.T.* pp. 23, 24), and was apparently not quite new.

If any definite indebtedness to the Greek version of Ecclesiasticus could be established, Wisdom could be dated with certainty *after* 132 B.C. But although there is some similarity of tone between such Wisdom-passages in Ecclus. as iv. 11—15; vi. 18—28; xv. 1—8, and Wisd. vi., viii. (cp. also Wisd. iv. 3 and Ecclus. xxiii. 25; Wisd. vi. 18 and Ecclus. i. 26; Wisd. xv. 7, 8 and Ecclus. xxxiii. 10—13), the relation is too general to warrant any conclusion upon which an argument might with safety be based.

Two considerations however lend strong support to a date within the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

(A) *The references to the relations between Egypt and the chosen people.*

Under the early Ptolemies, the Jews had received great consideration. Whatever may have been the feelings of their native subjects, these kings had treated the Jews with marked favour, and it was not till the reign of Ptolemy VII. (Euergetes II., surnamed Physcon, 145–117 B.C.), that any official action was taken against them. Josephus (*contr. Ap.* ii. 5) records the vengeance of Physcon upon the Alexandrian Jews for their loyalty to Cleopatra, in words which preserve an older version of the tradition adapted by the writer of 3 Macc. (see W. Fairweather, in Hastings' *D. B.* vol. iii. p. 193 b).

Wisdom xi. and xvi.–xix. display a strong national antipathy to the Egyptians, while iii. 1; v. 1; vi. 5—9 were evidently written by way of consolation to sufferers. But such passages could not have been written, had there been no other collision between the Egyptians and the Jews than that at the time of the Exodus: besides, they would have been impolitic as well as gratuitous under the gracious rule of the earlier Ptolemies.

They point to almost contemporary circumstances the memory of which yet rankled in the Jewish mind.

On the other hand, the literary treatment of the subject-matter is too passionless and academic to belong to a period of actual persecution: the writing is dictated by calm and reasoned prejudice rather than by the vehement indignation that is provoked by personal suffering. These conditions point to a time (about 120—100 B.C.) when the persecution under Physcon was a thing of the past, while its memory had not yet faded from the minds of the older generation of Jews.

(B) *The author is evidently unacquainted with the Philonic doctrine of the Logos.*

In spite of the remarkable similarity (in some cases amounting almost to identity) of the language of Philo and that of Wisdom, there is one vital difference which points to a considerably earlier date for the latter.

The Logos-idea is the leading feature of Philo's system, and there is in Wisdom no trace of the Philonian Logos, nor is the Divine Wisdom ever even identified with the Logos. In Philo's time the Logos-doctrine must have belonged to current Alexandrian thought: had Philo been its originator, he would have asserted it in a more polemical manner.

Accordingly, time must be allowed for the development of a doctrine which Philo found ready to his hand, and that length of time must have separated the composition of Wisdom from the writings of Philo. The inference (see Grimm, *Intr.* p. 34) is that Wisdom was composed a considerable time, perhaps a century, before Philo, who was born about 20 B.C., began to write.

If this argument is valid, it is unnecessary to discuss whether the persecutions of the Jews hinted at in Wisdom could have been those under Nero, or Caligula, or Cleopatra. Grätz and Noack saw in ch. xiv. 16–20 a reference to the command of Caligula that his statue should be placed in the Temple at Jerusalem, and to the erection of his effigy in the Synagogues of Alexandria. Grimm however points out that the reference in ch. xiv. would be very mild in view of such an outrage upon

the Jewish conscience, while divine honours had long previously been paid to the Seleucidae and to Ptolemy Lagi and his wife.

For the same reason, those writers who, like Plumptre (*Expositor*, vol. i. "The Writings of Apollos"), place its composition after Christ on the ground of its similarity with, and indebtedness to, the writings of Philo, fail to sustain their case. Without doubt, a superficial comparison of Wisdom and Philo brings to light remarkable resemblances of language and expression. The numerous cases of similarity in the interpretation or amplification of O.T. passages between Philo and the latter half of Wisdom might be urged as indicating the dependence of the latter (note especially the interpretation of the garments of the high priest in Wisd. xviii. 24).

But the writer is Jewish in spirit throughout, and although we find in Wisdom Philonic turns of expression and even philosophical terms, he is not an advanced Alexandrian like Philo, but an orthodox Jew.

The explanation of this similarity of interpretation and amplification must be sought not in the dependence of one writer upon another, but in their common dependence on a third source, viz. Palestinian *Midrashîm*, or Commentaries. Many of these must have been known to the Jews resident in Alexandria, and their exegesis largely influenced Alexandrian writers.

Finally, although our knowledge of the formation of the Canon of the Greek O.T. is exceedingly small, it is hard to understand how a work composed about A.D. 45 should have found a place in the Greek O.T., even taking precedence of Ecclesiasticus. Origen quotes from it as the "Divine Word" (*adv. Cels.* iii. 72), or as "the prophet" (*in Levit. Hom.* v. 2), while Eusebius (*praep. Evang.* i. 11) describes a quotation from it in almost identical terms.

The conclusion is that no date satisfies the general requirements of the book so well as about 125—100 B.C.

§ 3. *Language of the original.*

It was seen in the preceding section that in two cases at least[1] the author used the Greek version of Isaiah. The strong pre-

[1] ii. 12; xv. 10.

sumption hereby raised that the original language of Wisdom was Greek, is confirmed by a closer examination of the phraseology of the book.

Although the writer is not a philosopher, he draws very largely upon the vocabulary of Greek philosophy[1], and uses terms for which it would be hopeless to find equivalents in Hebrew. An ingenious attempt was made by D. S. Margoliouth (*Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1890) to prove a Hebrew original, but was refuted by Freudenthal (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1891). A very cursory survey will show the difference between Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus: the retranslation of the former into a Semitic language would be a *tour de force*. Such passages as Wisd. vii. 22—viii. 1, and xiii. 1—9 are altogether Greek, while the references in vii. 17, 18, and xi. 17 are equally decisive. Although the writer was at heart a Jew and Hebraistic expressions abound[2], his philosophical interests made Hebrew or Aramaic an impossible medium.

Further, the Greek of Wisdom is spontaneous and altogether free from the constraint which is inevitable in a translation. The many reminiscences of O.T. language as rendered by the LXX.[3], have not been carefully fitted into the text by a translator,

[1] viii. 7 the four cardinal virtues; ix. 15 b a Platonic touch; xi. 17 ὕλη ἄμορφος; xiv. 3, xvii. 2 πρόνοια; xvi. 21 ὑπόστασις; xvi. 24 ἐπίτασις, ἄνεσις; xix. 18 στοιχεῖα, and metabolism, cp. xvi. 21.

[2] e.g. i. 1 singleness of heart. ii. 9 portion, lot. ii. 15 paths (in moral sense). ii. 16 accounted as. iv. 13 fulfil time. iv. 15 God's holy ones. vii. 29; viii. 11 to find (in sense of *recognise*). ix. 3 uprightness of soul. ix. 9 what is pleasing in the eyes of God. xi. 1 in the hand of. viii. 21 with a whole heart. ix. 6 sons of men. (From Grimm).

[3] i. 1; 1 Chr. xxix. 17. i. 2; Is. lxv. 1. i. 13 b, 14 a; Is. liv. 16. i. 16; Is. xxviii. 15. ii. 7; Is. xxv. 6, 7. iii. 8 b; Ps. x. 16. iii. 9 c; Ps. lxxxiv. 11. iii. 11; Prov. i. 7. iv. 10; Gen. v. 24. iv. 18 b; Ps. ii. 4. v. 2; Is. xiii. 8. v. 14 a; Job viii. 13; Is. xxix. 5. v. 14 d; Is. xxxviii. 12. v. 22 c; Song viii. 7. vi. 1; Ps. ii. 10. vi. 7; Deut. i. 17. viii. 12; Job xxix. 9, 21. ix. 1; Dan. ii. 23. ix. 5; Ps. cxvi. 16. xi. 4 b; Deut. viii. 15. xi. 23; Job xlii. 2. xii. 12; Job ix. 12, 19. xiii. 18; Is. viii. 19. xvi. 13; 1 Sam. ii. 6. xix. 17; Gen. xix. 11.

but fall involuntarily from the pen of a writer whose memory is stored with expressions drawn from the Book of his daily meditation.

But the writer was more than a student of philosophy: his flexible style, "redolent of Greek eloquence" (Jerome, *praef. in libr. Salom.*), betrays the student of classical Greek literature[1]. If his clauses are more often loosely bound together by the conjunctions *and*, *but*, *therefore*, *wherefore*, he is nevertheless able to construct sentences in true periodic style (xii. 27; xiii. 11—15).

If again some of his utterances recall the studied parallelism of Hebrew poetry cp. ch. i. *passim*, he employs on the other hand the Greek rhetorical figures of *Chiasmus* (cp. ch. i. 1, 4, 8; iii. 15) and *Sorites* (ch. vi. 17—20).

There are not a few indications that his taste had been formed by hearing or reading the Greek poets. His fondness for accumulated epithets (ch. vii. 22, 23) and for compound words[2] (in the construction of which[3] he shows no small skill) is almost Aeschylean. His manner has at times the freshness[4] or the lightness of touch[5] of Greek lyric poetry, and occasionally his words fall into an iambic or hexameter rhythm[6].

Finally, it would be hard to account for the various examples

[1] It is true that his writing contains two apparent solecisms,
iv. 12 *μεταλλεύειν*, cp. xvi. 25. xi. 26 *φιλόψυχος*.

[2] i. 4 *κακότεχνος* (Homeric). vii. 23 *παντεπίσκοπος*. x. 3 *ἀδελφοκτόνος*. xii. 5 *σπλαγχνοφάγος*. xiii. 5 *γενεσιουργός*. Cp. Swete, *Intr. to O.T.* pp. 269, 311, 312.

[3] vii. 1 *πρωτόπλαστος*. xi. 7 *νηπιοκτόνος*. xiii. 3 *γενεσιάρχης*. xiv. 23 *τεκνοφόνος*. xv. 8 *κακόμοχθος*.

[4] xvii. 17—19.

[5] ii. 6—8.

[6] (*a*) x. 9 *ἐκ πόνων ἐρρύσατο*. xiv. 26 *ψυχῶν μιασμός, γενέσεως ἐναλλαγή*. xv. 4 *εἶδος σπιλωθὲν χρώμασιν*. 5 *ποθεῖ τε νεκρᾶς εἰκόνος... ὧν ὄψις ἄφροσιν εἰς ὄνειδος ἔρχεται*. 6 *κακῶν ἐρασταί*.

(*b*) x. 3 *συναπώλετο θυμοῖς*. xviii. 4 *αἰῶνι δίδοσθαι*.

In this connection, the rhythmical tendency so frequently observable through the book is of considerable importance. See an article by H. St J. Thackeray in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, vol. vi. pp. 232—237.

of alliteration[1], assonance[2], and paronomasia[3] in a work which was only a translation. The occurrence of a few instances might be put down to accident, but the occurrence of several suggests the author's deliberate intention.

We need have little hesitation in concluding that Wisdom has reached us in the language in which it was composed[4]: Jerome (*praef. in libr. Salom.*) actually writes that though he had found Ecclus. in Hebrew, "Wisdom is nowhere among the Hebrews."

§ 4. *Place of writing.*

It is a very reasonable inference from the evidence supplied by the book, that Wisdom was written by one who was resident in Egypt.

We have seen the close connection between the language of Wisdom and of the Alexandrian (LXX.) Version of O.T., and a similar connection may be traced between Wisdom and 3 and 4 Maccabees, both of which books show marks of Alexandrian origin.

Although obviously a Jew (xii. 22), the writer could not have been a Palestinian. He was a Hellenist, and among the Jews of Palestine Hellenism was tantamount to unpatriotism. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 11, 2) writes with reference to Greek learning, "Our nation does not encourage those that learn the languages of many nations." This prejudice was very natural, considering the Hellenizing efforts of Jason the high priest under Antiochus

[1] ii. 10 πρεσβύτου...πολιὰς πολυχρονίους. ii. 14 βαρὺς...καὶ βλεπόμενος. iii. 8 κρινοῦσιν...κρατήσουσιν. iii. 16 τέκνα...ἀτέλεστα. iv. 5 περικλασθήσονται κλῶνες. v. 12 βέλους βληθέντος. v. 18 κόρυθα κρίσιν ἀνυπόκριτον. Cp. ii. 23; vi. 10; xii. 15.

[2] i. 10 οὖς...θροῦς. iv. 2 ποθοῦσιν ἀπελθοῦσαν. v. 14 ἀσεβοῦς...χνοῦς. vii. 13 ἀδόλως...ἀφθόνως. xiii. 11 εὐμαθῶς...εὐπρεπῶς.

[3] v. 3 στενοχωρίαν...στενάξονται. v. 10 ἀτραπὸν τρόπιος. v. 22 ποταμοὶ...ἀποτόμως. xvii. 12, 13 προδοσία, προσδοκία.

[4] Cp. Dr Westcott's remarks on *Style and Language* in Smith, *B. D.* iii. 1780, "No existing work represents perhaps more completely the style of composition which would be produced by the (Alexandrian) sophistic school of rhetoric."

Epiphanes (2 Macc. iv. 7—15), the effect of which was to lead men "to make of no account the honours of their fathers, but to think the glories of the Greeks best of all[1]."

On the other hand, the author of Wisdom writes about the old-time dwellers in Egypt with a warmth that has something personal in it, and hardly tries to conceal his antipathy for the Egyptians of his own day under a historical mask (chs. xi., xvi. —xix.); and again, he writes of the gods of the Egyptians (xii. 23—27; xv. 18, 19) from a first-hand experience. He has looked upon them, and felt the loathing excited by their hideous appearance.

At the same time, he makes no effort to disguise his sympathy with Hellenic thought. He is a Euhemerist in his account of the origin of idol-worship (ch. xiv.): he is a Platonist in his sense of the beauty of the world, and in his argument that its beauty points to a supreme First Cause. He draws on Plato for his doctrine of pre-existing matter (xi. 17), of the pre-existence of the soul (viii. 19), and of the body as an obstacle in the path to spiritual knowledge (ix. 15).

The teaching of the Stoics suggested to him the penetratingness of Wisdom (vii. 24), and her quickness of understanding (*νοερόν*, vii. 22). The doctrine of Providence (xiv. 3), and the conception of the four cardinal virtues (viii. 7), were a loan partly from Plato and partly from the Stoics.

This combination of knowledge of Egypt and sympathy with Greek studies points plainly to Alexandria; and the inference is strengthened by a comparison of Wisdom with the writings of the Alexandrian Philo. For the affinity between them is so close, that the author has been styled a pre-Philonic Philonist. Like Philo (but in a more uncompromising way), he is a Jew loyal to the national religion; and no centre offered the same opportunities as did Alexandria for a Jew, who wished to unite a liberal eclecticism with his traditional faith.

He displays the Alexandrian tendency which was Greek in its origin, and is illustrated in Philo later, to allegorize Scripture

[1] Heriot (*Philon le Juif*, p. 23) writes that about 64 B.C. a curse was pronounced against any parents giving their children a Greek education, cp. Baba Kamma, 82b, 83a; Menaḥoth, 64b; Sota, 49b.

(x. 7 the pillar of salt; x. 17 the cloud; xvi. 5—7 the brazen serpent; 28 the manna; xvii. 21 the Egyptian darkness).

He holds the Alexandrian belief in the transcendence of God, which he endeavours (like Philo later with the Logos-theory) to balance with the doctrine of a vicarious intermediary, the Wisdom of the many names and functions; and in order to reconcile the religious sentiment with the divine transcendence, he applies the Greek philosophical idea of a world-soul, and thus contrives (while neither dethroning God nor deifying Wisdom) to elaborate a doctrine of immanence.

He shows no hesitation in placing the doctrines of Israel side by side with the philosophy of Greece, thus leading where Philo followed later. It would be possible to produce a very lengthy catena of quotations to show the similarity that exists between the language and thought of Wisdom and Philo, but it would be out of place here.

What has been said makes the conclusion very reasonable that the writer was a Jew of Alexandria[1].

§ 5. *The Author.*

From the conclusions reached in the preceding sections, it will be seen that, although it is unlikely we shall ever know the name of the author of Wisdom, certain points seem to be fairly established. The writer lived about 100 B.C., and was an Alexandrian Jew, possessing considerable acquaintance with the poetry and philosophy of Greece.

He may have been a professional religious teacher: his words in vi. 23 seem like a defence in advance against the charge of cupidity levelled by Philo against his profession, and probably not less unmerited at this period by the "sophists" of Alexandria

[1] Grimm (*Intr.* p. 20) names as specifically Judaeo-Alexandrine the doctrine of Love as the moving principle in God's activity as Creator and Sustainer of the world (xi. 24), and the designation of God as "He that is" (xiii. 1).

It should be observed that the writer's doctrine of the life after death is quite distinct from the Palestinian doctrine of the resurrection of the body (see Hastings, *D. B.* v. 305, 306), nor does his eschatological scheme contain any allusion to a personal Messiah.

than by those of Athens in the time of Socrates. Although inclined to eclecticism, as was only natural in a capital where all religions met, he was an unfaltering adherent of the national faith. He speaks of the law of Moses as "the incorruptible light of the law" (xviii. 4); he is unsparing in his condemnation of his renegade fellow-countrymen (chs. i.—v.); with the incapacity for appreciation fostered by the Mosaic legislation, he stands unmoved before the triumphs of art, regarding all visible representations of natural objects as indications of impiety if not insanity (xiv. 18—21; xv. 4—6).

Idolatry was for him the beginning and cause of every moral and social evil (xiv. 27): though he could view with tolerance the nobler forms of nature-worship, his residence among the votaries of less elevated cults had done nothing to blunt his abhorrence for those who "invested stones and stocks with the incommunicable Name" (xiv. 21).

Again, he is a blind particularist in dealing with his own nation. The Israelites are the holy people, the blameless seed (x. 15), the just (xi. 14): their enemies the impious, the lawless (xvi. 16, xvii. 2). Not only does his desire to heighten the contrast lead him into unfairness, but he occasionally colours history in stating the case for the Israelites. They cry to God for water (xi. 4), when Exodus xvii. relates that they murmured against God. The Scriptural account of the incidents that led up to the Brazen Serpent is ignored, and Israel is viewed as the object of Divine deliverance almost to the exclusion of the thought of chastisement (xvi. 5—14). The loathing of the people for the familiar manna is forgotten, in order that the author may credit it with the miraculous property of gratifying every taste (xvi. 21). Again, not a word is said as to the reason why the plague fell upon Israel (xviii. 20—25).

But although we may say thus much about the circumstances and prepossessions of the author, it is easier to say who he was not than who he was. Many conjectures have been hazarded, but he must remain nameless.

He was not *Solomon* (see §§ 2—4). The Solomonic authorship is a purely literary artifice. For the same reason, he could not have been *Zerubbabel* (Faber); or the *Son of Sirach* (a

suggestion made by St Augustine but withdrawn later); or *the older Philo*, who according to Josephus was a heathen.

Nor was he *Aristobulus* (Lutterbeck); holding as he did a privileged position in Egypt as friend of Ptolemy Philometor, he could not have written the passages in which kings are reproached for their abuse of authority, while under that king the Jews enjoyed considerable advantages.

The celebrated *Philo*[1] was held to be the author by Luther among others, and there is more to be said for this hypothesis than for any of the preceding.

But it was seen in § 2 that there are no traces in Wisdom of the specifically Philonic Logos-doctrine. While this in itself would seem almost conclusive, Grimm (*Intr.* pp. 24, 25) adds that the author seems, unlike Philo, to have been but a casual student of Greek philosophy, knowing of it little more than what filtered down into the popular mind. Again, there is no trace in Wisdom of the Platonic tripartite psychology, and doctrine of ideas, which played so important a part in Philo's system. The fundamental dualism of Philo, if not unseen in Wisdom, is at any rate only hesitatingly touched. Again, in Wisdom the devil is represented as an active agent (ii 24), whereas the advance of speculation has banished him from the writings of Philo.

Furthermore, the difference in style must not be overlooked. Philo's sentences are periodic, and his thought abstract and unemotional: the first nine chapters of Wisdom on the other hand recall the short sententious style of the gnomic books of the O.T., while in the latter half the author's manner is glowing and picturesque. Philo thinks overmuch, the author of Wisdom has no system and lacks precision of thought: the former is a philosopher, the latter a rhetorician.

Grimm is therefore probably right in concluding that Wisdom presents an earlier stage of development in the type of thought

[1] The ingenious conjecture of Dr Tregelles (Canon Murat. p. 53) may be mentioned. The words in which the book is described are "*et Sapientia ab amicis in honorem ipsius scripta*," and he suggested that "*ab amicis*" stands for ὑπὸ Φίλωνος in the Greek original, which was mistaken for ὑπὸ φίλων.

whose ripened fruit appears in Philo. This conclusion militates against the theory of Noack, warmly supported by Dean Plumptre (*Expositor*, vol. ii. "The Writings of Apollos"), that Wisdom was written by the Alexandrian *Apollos* before he became a Christian, being the precursor of the Epistle to the Hebrews written by him after his conversion: Apollos would hardly revert to a pre-Philonic stage of thought.

The further suggestion that Wisdom is by *a Christian hand* is met by the reply that there is not in the book one characteristically Christian conception.

§ 6. *Purpose of the Book.*

(A) The book opens with an address to rulers (i. 1; vi. 1—11), but except in those passages, and vi. 20—25, there is no other reference to them. But Wisdom is far from being a treatise on statesmanship, the first section (which contains the only mention of rulers) dealing almost entirely with moral and spiritual considerations, in a personal rather than a social connection. Accordingly, the address to rulers would seem to be a purely rhetorical artifice, screening the real purpose of the book, which is to give warning and encouragement to faithful Jews.

But even supposing, as we may (cp. the connection between i. 16 and ii. 1), that the writer has in view "not heathen rulers but powerful personages in the Jewish environment who...had apostatized...and attached themselves to the heathen government" (Siegfried, Art. "Bk of Wisdom," Hastings' *D. B.*), he only addresses them for the benefit of his readers, not expecting that his words will penetrate to high places, in the same manner as the O.T. prophets addressed warnings and prophecies to absent foreign princes and peoples with a direct view to the consolation of Israel.

At the same time, a criticism of the lives of those powerful Jews who had fallen from the faith provided him with the opportunity of exposing the worst consequences of a liberalizing tendency prevalent among all Alexandrian Jews, which although by no means harmful in its earlier stages needed careful guiding if it was not to issue in open hostility.

(B) The readers contemplated are plainly Jews.

(*a*) The book teems with allusions to historical events and characters, and yet not a single proper name (either of person or of place) occurs throughout. The allusive character of the writing makes it plain that the readers are expected to be capable of interpreting the half concealed references for themselves, through familiarity with the O.T. Scriptures.

(*b*) Certain characteristic O.T. conceptions are carefully placed in the light of a more inward philosophy of life.

This world is no longer to be regarded as the sole theatre for rewards and punishments; while again the outward must be interpreted in connection with the inward, so that the short lived man may be seen to have been spiritually long lived, and the childless to have had a portion better than sons or daughters.

(C) Wisdom was written by a Jew who was pained to see that, as a body, his countrymen in Egypt were weakened by unfaithfulness within and harassed by oppression from without. He aimed at consoling and strengthening his people, negatively, by showing them the bankruptcy of materialism and the futility of idolatry, and positively, by commending to them the pursuit of the Almighty Wisdom.

(*a*) Materialism was always a snare to the Jews, in view of their doctrine of a future life.

If the only prospect after death was that of a non-moral existence in Sheol, there was to grosser natures no reason why the cup of pleasure should not be drunk inordinately: and further, there was no satisfying solution of the problem of the prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the righteous. Few but those who are possessed by an overwhelming sense of the presence of God (like the Psalmists), or of the claims of man (like the Comtists), can regard their life as limited to the present world, without giving way to a fatalistic sensuality.

Very few men are idealists; and with the breakdown of the theocratic system, and on the one hand the Hellenizing of Palestine in the early years of the second century B.C., and on the other the solvent influence of philosophic thought and

heathen morals upon the religion of the Jews resident in Egypt, the standard of life in all but the most spiritually minded declined rapidly. When further, those who were Jews by heredity and not by conviction found themselves exposed to the ridicule of foreigners who scorned the rigorisms of the Hebrew system, and were also (like Tiberius Alexander, Philo's nephew, in later days) made aware of the advantages to be derived from a politic change of creed, a serious leakage from Judaism manifested itself. And when in addition the apostates, not content with their infidelity, not only mocked those who remained faithful, but even persecuted them for their loyalty, the outlook was black indeed. (For an account of the apostasy in Palestine under Antiochus Epiphanes, cp. 1 Macc. i. 11—16, 43—64; 2 Macc. iv. 10; and for that in Egypt under Physcon, cp. 3 Macc. ii. 31, and generally, Philo, *Mos.* i. 6, "They despise countrymen and friends, they transgress the laws under which they were born and brought up, they change their national customs against which no fault can be alleged, and they live under an alien rule and for the sake of present advantages forget all their old associations"; see also id. *Conf. l.* § 2.) It is against apostates of this type apparently that chs. i.—v. were directed, although the author had in view in this section the further object of spiritualising the ideas of the still faithful Jews, who found as much bewilderment as the apostates found security in the difficulties arising out of their traditional doctrines of the Sheol-existence and earthly retribution. He revised some of their inherited conceptions, teaching that death opened a gate of blessedness for the righteous, that posterity and length of days were not the criterion of a successful life, and that persecution was only one side of a picture, the other (and strangely unexpected) side of which would be revealed after death.

(*b*) But if Judaism was torn with inner dissensions, it suffered no less from pressure from without. Nothing else will account for the intensity of the writer's hatred of Egypt, which he gratifies as he lingers over the bondage of the Israelites, and labours the contrast between the fortunes of oppressors and oppressed (x. 16 ff.; xi. 1 ff.; xvi.—xix.).

History repeats itself, and he regards the study of history as

the best remedy for national depression. If it was in respect of its divinities that Egypt was smitten in the time of Moses, and if idolatry is not only folly but the cause of all social and civic decadence (xiii.—xv.), the suppressed conclusion is that the Egypt which still harries the resident Jews and has not yet repented of its beast-worship, will once again bend before Israel. It should be noted that the section on false cults starts from Egypt (xii. 24, cp. xi. 15) and leads back to Egypt (xv. 18).

(*c*) In face of internal weakness and external pressure, the author propounds his positive teaching. His most orthodox readers had been coming unconsciously to be affected by Hellenic speculation, and in the Wisdom of the Book of Proverbs he found a means of reconciling traditional Hebrew thought with the cosmic ideas of Stoicism. Alexandrian Jews were looking for a philosophy of experience, and they failed to find such in any truly speculative sense, except in the later Sapiential books.

Accordingly, he propounds his doctrine of Wisdom as a fundamental unifying principle, which coordinates Greek thought with Hebrew revelation, and correlates (as functions of the same being) the various operations of creative activity, guidance of history, advancement of science and philosophy, moral elevation of mankind, and mediation between God and man.

In this way he hopes, while never passing the bounds of orthodoxy, to show that Judaism is not merely an insulated national creed, but one standing in relation with truth wherever found. Further, nothing but the Wisdom revealed to the Hebrews can avert the doom threatening those rulers who have wrongly administered God's kingdom on earth.

(D) It has been maintained that Wisdom was written with a "definite polemical aim in opposition" to Ecclesiastes (Siegfried, "Bk of Wisdom" in Hastings' *D. B.*, and Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 70), but such a view is based on very insecure evidence.

Ecclesiastes was apparently composed about B.C. 200, and was Palestinian in origin. We do not know when it reached Egypt, or when it was translated; but it can have been only in its Greek form that it was studied at Alexandria. It was probably

one of the latest O.T. books to be translated, as its canonicity was long in dispute, and continued so to be for many years after Wisdom was composed (if 100 B.C. is accepted as the date of Wisdom). It may therefore have not been yet translated, when Wisdom was written[1].

Further, it is hard to see why a book with so little authority should require so strenuous a refutation. For it probably began its career in Egypt with little, if any, precedence over Ecclesiasticus, with which it is about contemporary in composition and from which it is equally impossible to prove that Wisdom made any borrowings[2].

If the aim of Wisdom is to denounce renegade Jews, it is hardly a reasonable suggestion that such men had found a champion for their principles of life in Solomon, and that therefore a counter-standard of a pious and orthodox Solomon needed to be erected. Apostates would not look for a justification of their life to the Scriptures of a religion they derided and renounced and persecuted.

But besides this, the resemblances between Wisdom and the Gk. version of Eccl. are very few and doubtful. There is not in Wisdom a single expression which can be decisively shown to be drawn from Eccl. There is no part of the Greek Bible that bears more clearly or crudely the marks of a translation from Hebrew than Eccl., but any of the few Hebraisms common to both books (such as *μερὶς*, ii. 9; Eccl. iii. 22) can be traced elsewhere in LXX.

Again, of isolated thoughts there are only a few for which even distant and general parallels (such as may be found anywhere) are seen in Eccl. (cp. ii. 3, 9; Wisd. vii. 11 a. iv. 14; Wisd. vi. 20. vii. 12; Wisd. viii. 17. vii. 19; Wisd. xvi. 17, 24. viii. 8; Wisd. ii. 5. x. 8; Wisd. xi. 16, but cp. Ecclus. xxvii. 27. xii. 7; Wisd. xv. 8, 16). Further, in the Stoic and Epicurean philosophy of life (in which the main resemblance is held to lie),

[1] Barton (Ecclesiastes, p. 9, in *Int. Crit. Comm.*) concludes that the earliest Gk. version of Ecclesiastes was that of Aquila at the end of the first century A.D.

[2] Plumptre even suggests that the "copy, affording no small instruction" referred to in the Prologue to Ecclus. was Ecclesiastes.

Eccl. finds a parallel only in Wisd. i. 16—ii. 10. And even here, there is no further relation between Eccl. and Wisdom than might be expected between the reflective writings of any two Jews acquainted with Job and Proverbs. Epicureanism is a fault of the heart as much as of the head, and can be accounted for without the hypothesis of a literary dependence. Finally, the standpoint of the hedonist in Eccl. is altogether different from that of the voluptuaries of Wisd. ii. Koheleth never rejects his religion: he summarizes the whole matter with "Fear God and keep His commandments." They, on the other hand, praise unbridled licence as the supreme goal of life, and above all become persecutors of their faithful fellow countrymen. In short, what Wisdom refutes is something not contemplated by Eccl.

For these reasons, the theory that Wisdom was prompted by opposition to Eccl. may be confidently rejected.

(E) The name of Solomon was probably chosen for two reasons, (i) because Wisdom-literature was traditionally associated with his name, as psalmody with that of David, and (ii) because of the address to rulers. Although it is hard to imagine that Wisdom would be read by any heathen rulers, and by more than a few (if any) ex-Jewish rulers, yet dramatically it would be fitting that the Hebrew king famed above all others for his administrative wisdom should be the writer's mouthpiece.

It should be noted that the writer brings Solomon upon the stage in his youth, ignoring the moral declension of his later life.

§ 7. *Unity of the book.*

The principal attacks upon the unity of Wisdom were made by Houbigant, Eichhorn, and Bretschneider.

Houbigant, struck by the difference between the earlier and later parts of the book, divided it into two sections, suggesting that Solomon himself wrote chs. i.—ix. in Hebrew, while chs. x.—xix. were added in Greek, possibly by the translator of chs. i.—ix.

Eichhorn divided the book differently, and conjectured that

chs. i.—xi. 1 were the work of a different author from chs. xi. 2—xix., or of the same author at a different period of his life.

Bretschneider divided the book into three parts, i.—vi. 8; vi. 9—x.; xii.—xix. According to him, the first part was a fragment of a larger Hebrew work written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes by a cultivated Palestinian Hellenist. The second part was the work of an Alexandrian Jew, a contemporary of our Lord. The third part was composed by a Jew of crude conceptions, writing about the same time. Ch. xi. served as a ligature between parts ii. and iii.

Into the arguments on either side there is no need to enter. Attacks upon the unity of the book have failed, and no serious effort to dispute it has recently been made.

It cannot be denied that, from the point of view of style, Wisdom divides itself into certain distinct sections, only loosely bound together, and not marked by any pronounced uniformity of treatment. But the author was a rhetorician, to whom "no class of writings and no mode of combination appear to be unfamiliar." Uniformity of style is not to be looked for, when a man of wide reading and great imitative versatility handles a variety of topics. As he passes from one class of subject to another, the *motif* of the moment imposes upon him the style in which he is accustomed to find it treated.

Too much importance may easily be assigned to superficial differences[1], while the underlying homogeneity of the book (as to general tone and manner of thought) is ignored. The careful study of Wisdom as a whole will reveal sufficient evidence of unity of idea and relation between its parts to justify the belief in its composition by a single author. Grimm, who combats in detail (*Intr.* pp. 9—15) the arguments adduced in favour of the disintegrating hypotheses, concludes by saying that "the unity of the book is securely established by the consistent character of the language, as well as by the unity of the literary situation

[1] E g., the eschatological interest is confined to the first part, and the haggadistic interpretation to the second. Part i. is concerned with the life of the individual, part ii. with a philosophy of national history. Wisdom is the central figure in chs. i.—ix.: she is almost ignored in chs. xi.—xix.

and tendency." The two objects of attack, apostasy and idolatry, represent the two great enemies of later Judaism. (See also Dr Westcott, in Smith's *D. B.* iii. p. 1780.)

It may be added that a love of extended antitheses is a feature of the book throughout. Chs. i.—v. contain three lengthy comparisons of the fortunes of the godly and the ungodly, while chs. xvi.—xix. are devoted to five laboured contrasts between the experiences of the Israelites and the Egyptians (cp. also chs. xi. and xii.).

§ 8. *Wisdom-literature.*

Wisdom-literature represents a definite direction of the Hebrew mind, parallel to that which it took in prophecy. Three classes of men are spoken of in Jer. xviii. 18, *prophets*, *priests*, and *wise men*; and from this passage amongst others it seems clear that the wise (*ḥakāmîm*) formed, if not a school, at any rate a class among the Jews, whose activities took their place as a recognised department of Jewish national life.

The wise men probably rendered a quiet but solid assistance to the prophets, whose message was delivered in more general terms and with uncompromising vehemence: being the casuists and moral advisers of the day the *ḥakāmîm* were in a position to individualize the prophetic message and to present it in a more conciliatory manner.

The earliest form which Wisdom took was the elaboration of riddles (Jdg. xiv. 14), fables (Jdg. ix. 8—15), parables (2 Sam. xii. 1—6), and proverbs (Ez. xviii. 2), the proverb (*māshāl*) being a terse generalisation based upon human experience, or upon the observation of nature.

The reflective tendency produced famous wise men from the days of Solomon downwards (1 Kings iv. 30), but Wisdom was not confined to the Israelites: the men of Edom were famed for their sagacity (cp. Jer. xlix. 7; Obad. 8).

Wisdom-literature began with the formation of collections of the sayings of the wise, the most famous being, of course, that known as the Book of Proverbs.

But it was after the Exile, that Wisdom-literature attained its highest development. "Wisdom" served as a corrective of legalism, when, after the religious reorganisation under Ezra,

the intellectual life of the people was gradually "confined by the priests within the limits of rigid law." The wise men were no longer represented in literature by collections of detached aphorisms, but they appeared as writers on popular morals, handling ethical subjects at length in narrative style. The canonical examples of their work are seen in Job and Eccl., and perhaps Ps. lxxiii.

But the unofficial work of the wise men was an unspoken criticism of that of prophets and priests, who accordingly regarded them with some jealousy and suspicion. They were the "humanists" of Israel, and made their influence felt against a too rigid institutionalism.

Their teaching was, it is true, directed to the establishment of morality, but its practical aim made them indifferent to that insistence upon national topics which marked the prophet, and that attention to ceremonial considerations which marked the priest. The wise men were not concerned with the central prophetic ideas of the Kingdom of God, the Chosen People, or the Messiah, or with the priestly ritual connected with sacrifice and Temple-service. Occupied as they were with the analysis of human conduct, and the observation of the sequences of cause and effect in connection with it, they studied experience chiefly in a subjective light. They were the first among the Israelites to begin to allow for the action of general laws. They were so occupied with the contemplation of nature and man, that they assigned increasing importance to laws of action and reaction which worked themselves out automatically without calling for any direct intervention on the part of God.

Thus the operation of spiritual laws plays a larger part in the Wisdom-books than in the prophetic writings: "Thus saith the Lord" tends to disappear, and psychological analysis becomes more prominent.

But God is not banished from the writings of the wise: it is only that greater room is allowed for that power divinely planted in men and things, of obeying the laws written in their constitution. Experience is stated in terms of man. Far from being atheists, the wise men represent a tendency altogether opposite to that of the Greek speculators. In fact, it might even be

said that the Jewish Wisdom (*Ḥokmah*) was no philosophy at all. The wise men of Israel never approached their enquiries without theological presuppositions. They had no desire to investigate final causes; they started from a fundamental axiom "In the beginning God...." This postulate indicates the character of their studies, which were not so much speculative as practical: their desire was not so much to understand the works of God, as to acquaint themselves with their harmonies, beauties, and adaptations, and all this with the final object of knowing and doing the will of God.

But while the basis of Hebrew enquiry was thus provided by Revelation, and the only atheists were the immoral who said in their heart "There is no God," there were no bounds to its range. The entire field of practical life came within its purview: kings, husbandmen and traders alike were governed by the moral principles which formed the study of the wise.

To the class of Wisdom-literature belong the Palestinian *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Alexandrian *Wisdom* (and 4 *Macc.*). The former, owing to its relation to the law and the prophets, shows traces of having not altogether thrown off the legalistic tendency, while Wisdom, as we saw earlier, lays Greek philosophical terms under contribution, although hardly deviating (cp. xi. 17) from the strictest Jewish orthodoxy. It should be noted that, in the latter half of Wisdom, the writer deserts one of the most characteristic canons of Wisdom-literature, and exhibits a violent national prejudice (cp. also Ecclus. xxiv. 8). It may be, however, that in passing from the more strictly gnomic to the descriptive part of the book, a change in the tone of his thought effected itself spontaneously upon a change in the mode of literary treatment.

Perhaps the main contribution of the Book of Wisdom to Sapiential literature is the clearness of its witness to life beyond the grave. Prof. A. B. Davidson (*Expositor*, xi. pp. 335 ff.) has noted three phases of Wisdom-literature: (i) That of Prov. x. ff. in which occurrences never violate the O.T. principles of earthly reward and retribution. This world supplies a broad enough platform upon which to complete the entire drama of human life: the righteous live long, the wicked are not delivered.

(ii) That in which exceptions occur, cp. Ps. lxxiii. and Job, and the godly are perplexed by the prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the righteous. (iii) That in which difficulties no longer perplex, e.g. Eccl., but are acquiesced in as a permanent and useful element of experience.

Wisdom puts forward unhesitatingly as a solution of the difficulty that eschatological hope which was tentatively held by the thinkers of the second phase. The life beyond the grave (in the form of the Greek doctrine of the immortality of the soul) was perhaps the greatest spiritual consolation that could have been offered in days when the promises to the chosen people seemed to be irretrievably falsified by a bitter experience of oppression without and faithlessness within.

§ 9. *The Divine Wisdom.*

Wisdom-literature is so called because it contains the practical wisdom of the *ḥakamîm*, and not because it reveals the Divine Wisdom.

But in Prov. and Job, as well as in Ecclus. and Wisdom, a personified, almost hypostatised, Wisdom is introduced, a conception the development of which must be traced, if we are to grasp the leading idea of the Book of Wisdom.

It may be said at once that Wisdom, as it appears in the Book of Job, will hardly concern us, except as an arrested phase of a development exhibited in greater completeness in Prov., Ecclus. and Wisdom. In Job Wisdom is "the idea or principle lying under the order of the universe," the world-plan. It is the moral constitution of the world, comprising not only physical phenomena, but also the life and destinies of men. This "world-order with all its occurrences is nothing but God fulfilling Himself in many ways, but these ways may be reduced to one conception, and this is Wisdom, which is thus conceived as a thing having objective existence of its own." This Wisdom is a possession of God alone. When therefore to the question, "Where shall Wisdom be found?" the answer is returned "The fear of the Lord that is Wisdom," there is no identification of Wisdom with the fear of the Lord, nor even explanation of it in those terms. The meaning is that a man cannot attain to the

intellectual apprehension of the underlying principle of the universe, but that God has given him a *substitute*, viz. the fear of the Lord (see A. B. Davidson, *Job*, pp. 198—201, and W. R. Inge, *Faith and Knowledge*, p. 29).

In Proverbs (chs. i.—ix.) the system of the universe, moral and physical, is regarded as a unity pervaded by an immanent God. Then the Divine principles which manifest themselves in the life of the world are abstracted from God their source, and these principles are viewed "as an articulated, organised whole, outside of God Himself, the expression of His mind, but having an existence of its own alongside of God." To this system of principles consciousness is attributed; it is personified as Wisdom, in whom are summed up the principal attributes of God: Wisdom even becomes the child of God, "playing" (Prov. viii. 30) before Him in the days of creation.

But though personified, the function of Wisdom is mainly humanitarian: her delights are with the sons of men (Prov. viii. 31, 32). Her work is that of a public teacher: the picture of her in Prov. viii. "could only have been drawn by combining many materials together, such as the public teaching of the prophets, the more private conversational instruction of the wise, the judicial procedure of the public law at the gates, and the many lessons of social order and well-being which the thronging thoroughfares presented....She is the personification of everything that had a voice to speak to men, and impress upon them the principles of Divine order in the world" (A. B. Davidson, *Expositor*, xii. p. 456).

The conception of Wisdom in Ecclus. is clearly borrowed from Proverbs, and (although slightly expanding the earlier teaching) makes no real advance upon it. Wisdom was created before the world (xxiv. 9); she came forth from the mouth of the Most High (*v.* 3). She has a possession in every people and nation (*v.* 6), but her special portion is with Israel (*v.* 8), and upon Mount Sion (*v.* 10). The picture is free from all traces of Hellenism, and shows Wisdom as a purely moral agent (as in Prov.), and not employed as intermediary in creation. Wisdom is still a personification, and not a person.

But it is when we come to the Book of Wisdom, that we find

the most complete development of the conception. But even there the last thing we must look for is a definite, clear-cut presentment of Wisdom. The writer breathes an atmosphere charged with vague and indeterminate conceptions, some Greek and others Hebrew, which seem to approach one another, but never quite to meet. Possessed of little precision of thought, he fails to produce a logically perfect synthesis: but he makes a remarkable advance upon his predecessors in effecting the fusion of Greek and Hebrew ideas.

If we desire to arrive at the author's conception, we must consider first (i) the synonyms, (ii) the attributes, (iii) the functions, of Wisdom.

(i) *Synonyms for Wisdom.* The writer was acquainted with the Stoical theory of an all-penetrating Logos, which took shape in the universe as rational order, and in man as reason. Round this Divine principle gathered, and with it were identified, such varied ideas as providence, destiny, justice, truth, cause, nature, necessity.

The author could not introduce the Logos into his philosophy, but he could take the authorised Hebrew conception of the Wisdom, and handle it in a manner altogether analogous to that of the Stoic Logos. To the potentialities of such a cosmic figure as the Wisdom of Prov. and Ecclus., practically no limits could be set. Accordingly, he identifies Wisdom with

(*a*) *The spirit of the Lord* (ix. 17). If the spirit of the Lord fills all things, and is in all the world (i. 7; xii. 1), so is Wisdom (vii. 24; viii. 1). Not only does a holy spirit of discipline behave in the same manner in face of sin as does Wisdom (i. 4, 5), but we learn that Wisdom is herself a spirit (i. 6; perh. vii. 22).

Further, the same functions are ascribed to Wisdom in chs. vii.—ix., as in O.T. to the spirit of God, which leads man in the right way (Job xxxii. 8; Ps. li. 12; cxliii. 10), and gives wisdom to kings (Is. xi. 2), inspiration to artists (Ex. xxxi. 3), and vision to prophets (1 Sam. x. 6).

(*b*) The *Logos*, or *Word*, in O.T. sense. What the Word of the Lord does, that Wisdom does. They are instruments of creation (ix. 1, cp. viii. 6; ix. 2, 9). They are remedies against

evil (xvi. 12, cp. ix. 18 and x.). They are used to chastise Egypt (xviii. 15, cp. x. 19). They are both all-powerful (xviii. 15, cp. vii. 23); both sit on God's throne (xviii. 15, cp. ix. 4). It should be observed, however, that although the functions of the Word are all conceded to Wisdom, the converse is not true in this book.

(*c*) *Power*, i. 3, cp. x. 8.

(*d*) *Providence*, xiv. 3, cp. x. 4.

(*e*) *Hand of God*, xiv. 6, cp. x. 4.

(*f*) *Justice*, i. 8; xiv. 31, cp. x. 14, 16.

(*g*) *Angel of the Lord.* The destroying angel of O.T. is represented by the Logos in xviii. 15; but in Wisd. x. 17 Wisdom controls the pillar of cloud, being thus identified with the "angel of God" in Ex. xiv. 19.

Thus Wisdom unites in herself a number of floating conceptions: though alone in kind, she is manifold (vii. 22), see H. Bois, *Origines*, pp. 233—241.

(ii) *Attributes.* From ch. vii. 22—24 we learn the nature of Wisdom. She possesses intelligence, holiness, beneficence, omnipotence, omniscience (ix. 11). She is mobile, enjoying such rarity of being that she can penetrate into every place and discern every pure spirit. These qualities belong to her because of her ineffably close relation to God, whence come her stainless beauty and indefeasible security (vi. 12; vii. 25, 29, 30).

(iii) *Functions.* Wisdom, being a cosmic figure, is concerned with the two great departments of creation, nature and man, but as in Proverbs, her chief interest is man.

(*a*) *Nature.* She fills the world (i. 7); holds all things together (i. 7); renews all things (vii. 27); orders all things (viii. 1); works all things (viii. 5). She was an instrument in God's creating work (ix. 2); was therefore present at creation (ix. 9); knows God's works (ix. 9), and chooses them out (viii. 4).

(*b*) *Man.* She convicts him of unrighteous words (i. 8); she forestalls those who seek her (vi. 13—16); she promotes to a kingdom (vi. 20); brings good things with her, of which she is the mother (vii. 11, 12); helps to the Divine friendship (vii. 14,

27); makes men prophets (vii. 27); teaches the sciences (vii. 16—22), the four virtues (viii. 7), experience and foresight and intuition (viii. 8); gives man counsel and encouragement (viii. 9), glory and honour (viii. 10), immortality (viii. 13), power to govern (viii. 14), knowledge of the Divine counsel (ix. 17). She alone makes man to be held in account (ix. 6); corrects the ways of earth-dwellers (ix. 18); is a saviour (ix. 18); and was the director and deliverer of the heroes of antiquity (chs. x., xi).

We come now to the discussion of the nature of Wisdom. Her functions and attributes mark her out as being very near to God Himself, and the writer accumulates such expressions as breath, effluence, effulgence, mirror, image (vii. 25, 26), in order to assert her divineness without attributing to her deity. She is pictured as a "solar energy, emanating from the focus of power, and though exerting characteristic influences on every variety of object, yet never breaking loose into separate existence, or violating the indissoluble unity of her source." With this central source she is one: yet, though possessing all that God has to give, she does so only by derivation.

This aspect of her being is carefully emphasised. She sits by God on His throne (ix. 4); she is initiated into His knowledge, and actually chooses out His works (viii. 3, 4); she is with God, and was present with Him when he was making the world (ix. 9): and yet, she is God's servant, completely at His disposal. He is her guide (vii. 15); He gives her (ix. 4), and sends her from on high (ix. 17); He bids her go from the throne of His glory to dwell with men (*id.*).

Nevertheless, Wisdom is not hypostatised. Drummond writes (*Phil. Jud.* i. p. 226) that she is personal, but not a person. If the distinction is valid, it expresses well the nature of a Being which is allowed to possess all the moral qualities of God without His self-determination. She is holy, and possesses intelligence; God loves her: and yet she does not exist out of Him. She is rather the result of God's being and the reflection of His volitional movements, than a Being standing over against Him. She is a channel of His will, rather than a voluntary agent on its behalf. She personifies the train of causal sequences that

connect the act of will in the mind of God with the object upon which He wills to act. And yet the writer regards her as far more than a merely literary personification: in view of viii. 16—18 it must be granted that he conceded to her a refined, supersensuous personality. But psychological analysis had not reached its present development, and the *differentia* of personality would be stated now in very different terms from those which he would have employed. No modern psychologist would allow personality to Wisdom, on the data advanced in the book.

In conclusion, it is plain that Wisdom is a creation of thought (not of necessity consciously so to the writer), representing the answer to the question, how to bring a transcendent God into relation with phenomena. Wisdom is not an attribute, nor the sum of the attributes, of God: such an explanation would not take account of all the properties postulated of Wisdom, nor would it allow for the completeness of the Divine transcendence. Wisdom again is not God in manifestation: she is too distinct from Him to be merely a theoretical aspect of Himself. Lastly, she is not a Being, personal and distinct from God: she emanates from Him, but emanation has not terminated. No birth-severance has taken place, giving her independent life.

No better summary could be offered than the words of Drummond (*Phil. Jud.* i. p. 225) "Wisdom is a self-adaptation of the inviolable spirituality of God to material conditions, an assumption of the necessary community of nature, in order to bring the infinite and eternal into those relations of space and time which are implied in the creation and government of the world of sense."

§ 10. *The Logos.*

The Philonic doctrine of the Logos, or Word, is not found in this book: the author advances nowhere beyond the Jewish use of the word. But Philo's doctrine of the Wisdom is almost identical with that of Pseudo-Solomon, and any anticipations in this book of Philo's doctrine of the Logos are to be found in connection with it rather than with the term Logos.

The Philonic Logos, owing to its Greek philosophical implica-

tions, has the meaning of "reason," or the rational thought and ideal of God: but of the six passages in which the word is used in Wisdom, in one only can the Logos have the sense of "reason," and then not in a cosmic sense, but with reference to human nature (ii. 2, "reason is a spark").

In ch. ix. 1, 2 we read "who madest all things by Thy Logos, and by Thy Wisdom Thou formedst man." Here Logos is rightly rendered "Word." The passage is Hebrew in tone, recalling Ps. xxxiii. 5, 6, and no contrast is intended between the two clauses. They are parallel, and "wisdom" is used in the second as a poetic variant for "word" in the first. Wisdom here is not the Divine semi-hypostatised Being, but the Divine attribute of Wise-ness, as in Ps. civ. 24 "in Wisdom hast Thou made them all." There is no contrast suggested between the functions of Wisdom and of the Logos, as if the former were the agent in the making of man, and the latter in the making of things: for Wisdom is the "artificer of all things" (vii. 22, cp. viii. 6).

Again, as far as the Book of Wisdom is concerned, a distinction between the Wisdom as representing the immanence of God, and the Word as representing His activity, cannot be maintained. Wisdom is consistently presented as an agent throughout ch. x.

Ch. xii. 9 and xviii. 22 present no difficulty, as Logos in these passages plainly has the meaning of "word," while xvi. 12 is based upon Ps. cvii. 20, "He sent His word and healed them."

But the celebrated passage in xviii. 15 has been claimed as an example of the Philonic use of the Logos. This, however, is not the case. The use of Logos in this passage must be determined both by its use elsewhere in Wisdom and by the character of the chapter.

(i) We have seen that the Divine Logos has no Greek philosophical associations in any other passage in this book. See ix. 1; xii. 9; xvi. 12, cp. Ps. cxlvii. 15, 18. In each of these passages, it is the expression of the will of God in action, cp. the parallel use in xviii. 22.

(ii) This ch. is Hebraic in thought, and not Greek. *v.* 24 is undoubtedly borrowed from Hebrew commentaries, to which

Philo and Josephus later had access. It is probable that *vv.* 9, 15 are drawn from a similar source.

The Logos is treated in this verse in a highly rhetorical way: there is a great advance upon such a passage as Is. xi. 4 LXX. "He shall smite the earth with the Logos of His mouth," or Hos. vi. 5 LXX. "I slew them by the word (ῥήματι) of My mouth," or even upon Ps. cxlvii. 15 LXX. "His Logos shall run." Not only is independent action attributed to it, "It leaped," but it is personified as "a stern warrior."

Now Wisd. xviii. 15 seems to be based upon 1 Chr. xxi. 15, where the agent is the angel of the Lord. But the ministry of angels has no place in Wisdom; accordingly, the change to Logos is accounted for: and the presence of the angel in the source-passage tells at first sight in favour of the independent personality of the Logos here.

But the writer may have drawn upon the passage in 1 Chr. xxi. without necessarily identifying the Logos in Egypt with the angel of the plague. Moreover, the Logos in Wisd. xviii. 15 corresponds exactly with the "punisher" of xviii. 22, and the "destroyer" of xviii. 25; and it is curious to note that the latter expression is not taken from the account in Numbers from which the rest of the narrative (*vv.* 20—25) is drawn, but is introduced from Ex. xii. 23, which relates to the death of the firstborn.

Now, although in Wisd. xviii. 15 the Logos is the agent in the destruction of the firstborn, and although in the *Jerusalem Targum* (Etheridge, p. 477) it is the "Word of the Lord" that slew all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, yet in the source-passages, Ex. xi. 4 and xii. 29 (LXX.), God Himself is spoken of as the agent. Hence it seems plain that the writer had no intention of hypostatising the Logos, but had in mind only the customary Jewish periphrasis for the Lord, i.e. the "Memra of Jehovah." This expression means "the Divine Being in self-manifestation" (see Etheridge, *Targums*, Introd. pp. 14—20).

The inference that the personification of the Logos is purely poetical is supported by those Biblical narratives, in which the agent is now spoken of as God, and again as the angel of the Lord (cp. Gen. xxxi. 11 and 13; xxxii. 24 and 30; Ex. xiv. 19 and xiii. 21). The same tendency may be observed in later

versions of an earlier account (cp. Acts vii. 30 and 32[1]; also Acts vii. 38, 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2, as compared with Ex. xix. 19; xx. 1). In these passages we see how strongly the Jews felt that what in God is capable of manifestation must be distinguishable from His transcendent existence, and yet that they only ventured to provide themselves with a formula to express God in self-manifestation: they were very far from postulating a second "eternal." And similarly, in Wisd. xviii. 15, no valid reason exists for regarding the Logos as more than a rhetorico-poetical personification of the Divine will and energy.

It has been argued that the Logos in xviii. 15 is to be identified with the Wisdom, cp. Ecclus. xxiv. 3, and perhaps Wisd. ix. 1, 2. The same epithet "all powerful" is applied to both (vii. 23); Wisdom sits beside God on His throne (ix. 4); Wisdom possesses unlimited mobility, and her power reaches from one end of the world to the other (vii. 24; viii. 1). That Wisdom like the Logos is not associated with creative acts only may be seen from her destructive actions in x. 19.

But the preceding argument shows that the Logos is not conceived of in this book as a personal intermediary in the same rank with Wisdom, and either coequal or identical with her, but as merely a rhetorical personification. The writer would not identify a substance with a shadow.

§ 11. *Doctrine of God.*

The Book of Wisdom does not ask, "Does God exist?" His existence is taken for granted. But there is another question "What is His nature?" and to it no definite answer is given, although many hints are furnished as to the writer's view.

God is supreme, and His supremacy is seen in His work as Creator (xi. 17) and Upholder (xii. 15). But what are His relations to His world? Is He immanent or transcendent? Is He rightly described as its Creator, or only as its Organiser?

Wisdom emphasises, as might be expected in an Alexandrine work, the distance of God from His world. Even omnipresence

[1] Cp. the Alexandrian Jewish poet, Ezekiel, in Eus. (*Præp. Ev.* 441 a) "The Divine *Logos* shineth upon thee out of the bush."

is only indirectly attributed to God: it is the spirit of God, or Wisdom, that fills the World. And if God searches hearts and reins, and hears the secret words of men, it is because His deputy lays them open to His mind (i. 6—10).

It is as a transcendent God that the book presents Him. He is indeed Creator, Artificer, Author of the world's beauty (i. 14; ix. 9; xiii. 1; *id.* 3), but not directly; His creative action was mediated through Wisdom: and similarly, though He might be said to order the course of the world (xii. 15), yet Wisdom is His appointed agent (viii. 1). All things were made through Wisdom, and without her was not anything made.

God is more rightly named Organiser than Creator. His hand did not make the world out of nothing, but out of formless matter (xi. 17). No explanation is offered as to the source of this pre-existing material, and the hypothesis of a double creation (i.e. first, the production of matter, and later, its arrangement) may be discarded, because, as Grimm well says, the production of the elemental substance is a far greater marvel than the reduction of it to order, and when the writer could have spoken of the more marvellous, he would hardly have confined himself to the less. Accordingly the verb κτίζω (create) used in xi. 17 (cp. κατασκευάζω, ix. 2; xiii. 4) indicates that "to create" as used in i. 14, ii. 23 emphasises not so much the manner of creation as the personal action of the Creator.

Besides this dualism of God and matter, the author incidentally mentions another. God made the world for life (i. 14), but His creation has been intruded upon by death (i. 16). Now death is not God's handiwork (i. 13), but what the source is from which death springs, the writer does not discuss: through the envy of the devil it entered into the world, but the devil is not viewed as its author, only as its channel (ii. 24). But even if death does not hold the rank of a rival eternal principle, it is nevertheless a terrible fact thwarting God's purposes for men.

The giving of the name of Wisdom to His supreme intermediary, indicates the aspect under which the author found his chief pleasure in contemplating the transcendent God.

We have seen what are the attributes of Wisdom: what the servant is, that, and more, must the Master be (vii. 16—26).

Next to His wisdom, the omnipotence of God as qualified by His goodness, appeals to him. God has to answer to no overlord for His conduct (xii. 12—14); He is the self-existent (ὁ ὤν, xiii. 1); the eternal light (vii. 26); He has all power (xi. 21, 23; xii. 18); and yet He does not employ His might capriciously or irresponsibly (xi. 23; xii. 16, 18). Nothing but love can explain His self-restraint (xi. 24, 26). Nothing could have come into being and continued in being without His will (xi. 25), and He could never have called into existence a thing that He hated (xi. 24). Love therefore must be viewed as His motive in creation: and this principle is demonstrated in His patient forbearance towards sinners (xi. 26; xii. 1). The world is so minute in His sight (xi. 22), that in very pity He seeks to make it possible for sinners to repent (xi. 23; xii. 10, 20).

And yet, if God exercises a beneficent providence caring for all alike (vi. 7), He has His moral prepossessions. He detests idolaters (xiv. 9); He detested the Canaanites for their abominations (xii. 3); He will laugh at the wicked (iv. 18). But the souls of the righteous are in His hand (iii. 1); He loves those who dwell with Wisdom (vii. 14, 28), and He will visit His saints (iv. 15).

Again, to the Jews He was a Father, disciplining them with an educative purpose, but to the Egyptians a stern King, chastening them in displeasure and in token of condemnation (xi. 9, 10).

May God be known? Does the fact that He manifests Himself through Wisdom prove that He must do so, because otherwise He is hidden, incomprehensible, unknowable? Carefully as His transcendence is emphasised, still greater care is taken to prove His revelation of Himself. The external world cannot indeed give an adequate knowledge of God, but it can prove His existence (xiii. 1). And it can do more: by its power and beauty, it can symbolise (as Plato and the Stoics had seen) the moral force and loveliness of its author (xiii. 3—5). But there can be a direct self-manifestation of God to the soul that prepares itself for Him (i. 1, 2; xv. 1—3); men may be His friends (vii. 27); incorruption brings them near to Him (vi. 19); He inspires them with right words and thoughts (vii. 15, 16).

And yet, even here the mediation of Wisdom is asserted (vii. 28; ix. 17).

The truth is that no statement of the theology of Wisdom can be made without qualifications. The writer felt the influence of two types of thought, without giving a complete adhesion to either. He acknowledged the direct action of God upon the world, and yet his Alexandrine sympathies forced upon him the doctrine of an intermediary. At first sight, the anthropomorphisms of the book might seem to bear witness to the direct action of God; because, if the writer had been completely possessed by the Judaeo-Alexandrine doctrine of God's aloofness, he would have written of the Divine powers rather than as in iii. 1; v. 16; vii. 16, of God's hand and arm. On the other hand, the later Judaeo-Alexandrine writers had ceased to be afraid of anthropomorphisms. The LXX. translators tried to eliminate them (cp. Josh. iv. 24, where "hand of God" becomes "power"), but the growth of the allegorical method was seen to rob them of all dangerousness. The work of Aristobulus represented a deliberate effort to explain them away by treating them as formulae standing for some divine attribute, and to show that the hands, arm, face, and feet of God were to be interpreted as divine powers (see Eus. *Praep. Ev.* viii. 9, 10).

Accordingly, it is easy and very possibly correct to view some of the anthropomorphisms in this book as merely synonyms of Wisdom (see x. 20; xi. 17, 21; xvi. 15; xix. 8). Again such a passage as v. 16 is so clearly poetical that it does nothing to prove that the author thought anthropomorphically, or did not hold exaggerated views of divine transcendence.

§ 12. *Doctrine of Man.*

Man is composed of body and soul (i. 4; viii. 19, 20). This is the only analysis accepted by the writer, although xv. 11 seems at first to distinguish between soul and spirit. But the distinction is only superficial: the contrast really suggested is between the two epithets applied to the one principle.

The seat of personality is not clearly defined. In the earlier part of the book the writer identifies the blessed dead with their souls which are in the hand of God (iii. 1—9), but he is not

consistent. In viii. 19 Solomon says that he received a good soul, thus seeming to imply that personality is to a certain extent independent of the soul: but immediately afterwards he corrects himself, and personality is identified with the soul "I came into a body undefiled" (viii. 20). In ch. xv. however it is not clear whether that which receives the soul or spirit (*v.* 11) is the man, or merely his body: nor again in *v.* 8 whether that which surrenders the soul-loan is the man himself, or merely his mortal body (cp. *v.* 16, and St Luke xii. 20. *Is* the soul the man and does he go with his soul? Or does he continue to exist apart from his soul?) This spiritual endowment comes from God (xv. 11), and joins the body at birth. Hence a certain pre-existence is taught, which is due doubtless to Greek influence, but not pre-existence of the developed Platonic type (*Phaedr.* 245 C, D; *Meno* 86 A). The writer leans, if anything, to the Greek position, but he has no consistent view: in viii. 19 he takes the Greek view, while xv. 11 plainly recalls Gen. ii. 7. However, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul which he adopts unreservedly, follows upon the doctrine of pre-existence more logically than upon the O. T. doctrine. See Hastings' *D. B.* iv. 63, 164; v. 291.

Pre-existence involves a measure of predestination (cp. Ecclus. xxxiii. 10—13), which theoretically is only towards goodness, although practically experience produces many exceptions. But the writer makes no attempt to effect a reconciliation. On the one hand he writes that God created man for incorruption, making him in His own image (ii. 23); Solomon, who was *ex hypothesi* like any other man, received a good soul and an undefiled body. On the other hand, the children of ungodly parents are destined to an evil end (iii. 12, 16—19; iv. 3—6).

Whatever may constitute the bias towards evil, men possess free will and are responsible agents. Thus they brought King Hades into God's world and made terms with him (i. 16); Adam's transgression was his own; Cain revolted from Wisdom and so fell into sin (x. 1, 3, cp. *v.* 8). But equally, men may seek God in such a spirit as to find Him (i. 1, 2); kings must honour Wisdom if they would reign securely (vi. 21); men may obtain Wisdom by asking for her (viii. 21).

The writer does not place the principle of sin in the body, although the tendency to depreciate the body has begun (ix. 15). The mere fact that Solomon came into an undefiled body proves that the writer was aware of no law that the body is inherently sinful: similarly, when he says that Wisdom will not dwell in a sin-enslaved body (i. 4), the inference is that inasmuch as Wisdom does dwell with some men, *all* bodies are not held in pledge by sin. It would seem that theoretically the body shares the ethical quality of the soul, and that "the soul's tenement is in itself morally neutral, reflecting the hues of virtue or guilt which belong to the animating spirit" (Drummond, *Ph. Jud.* i. 202). This may be seen from viii. 19, 20, and from i. 4 which is its counterpart, the reference in the two clauses of the latter *v.* being not to two individuals so much as to the one evildoer in his twofold aspect of body and soul. Ch. ix. 15 illustrates the Platonic dualism, to which Philo yielded a complete assent, but which is only an incipient tendency in Wisdom. The body is not an active agent of evil, it is rather a passive check upon the soul: if the soul is not always on God's side, neither is the body invariably His enemy in man.

It is a mistake to urge, as has been done, that the writer gives evidence of a dualistic tendency by an advocacy of asceticism and celibacy (see iii. 13, 14). He views childlessness not as a merit, but as a misfortune, for which spiritual compensations are promised to the sinless.

But however perfect the natural man may be, he will be held in no account apart from Wisdom (ix. 6); but in kinship unto her lies immortality (viii. 17). For the wise man is the righteous man (compare iv. 17 with ii. 12), and righteousness is immortal (i. 15). Righteousness is shown to be closely related to spiritual intuition (cp. x. 10 *b*). The righteous man's boast is his knowledge of God (ii. 13): inadequate knowledge is the misfortune of men which Wisdom alone remedies, while right knowledge is the path to the pleasing of God (ix. 13—19). Again, the supreme righteousness is the knowledge of God, and in the knowledge of His might lies the root of immortality (xv. 3), but ignorance of God is sin entailing condign punishment (xii. 27, cp. x. 8, xiii. 6—9, xv. 11).

But although righteousness is thus seen to depend on knowledge, the content of piety is not thereby exhausted. The duty of prayer and thanksgiving is prescribed (xvi. 28, cp. viii. 21), while trust in God, which issues in temporal benefits (xvi. 24, 26), leads to the understanding of truth and to lasting fellowship with Him (iii. 9).

§ 13. *Death and Immortality.*

By nature, man is immortal, in a spiritual though not in a physical sense. Physical death is viewed in an altogether non-moral light, and the author displays no acquaintance with the penal doctrine of Ecclus. xxv. 24 "Because of her [Eve] we all die." This is clear from i. 15 "Righteousness is immortal": the righteous are subject to physical death, and yet their death has not even remotely a moral significance (cp. iii. 1 ff.). Death is a universal and purely physical contingency, and the word "death" is used in this sense in various passages, ii. 20, 24; xvi. 13; xviii. 12, 16, 20; xix. 5.

But there are some passages where "death" cannot denote merely physical death. In i. 13 we read "God made not death"; but the writer accepts physical death as part of the normal economy of nature (cp. xvi. 13). We find ourselves therefore in presence of a moral death which stands related to moral action (cp. i. 11 "A lying mouth destroyeth a soul"). This death men "court in the error of their life" (i. 12): God did not make it, but they draw it upon themselves by their voluntary action (i. 12, 13). Men cannot blame their circumstances for it, for there is no moral evil in nature (i. 14). In fact, as long as he remains true to righteousness, man is free from spiritual death: it is only those who deliberately bring into their moral world an intruding rival to God, King Hades, who are subject to it (i. 16. Bois identifies Pluto, the king of the lower world, with the devil, *Origines*, p. 295).

The path to moral death is specified in ch. ii. as sensuality, apostasy, and oppression of the faithful. The view of life present and to come, held by those who tread it, is seen in ii. 1—5. Being materialists in practice and philosophy, they view physical death as extinction: they have discarded even the old

Sheol-conception, and regard death as the end. Led astray by the blindness of their view and by their spiteful jealousy, they think to punish the righteous man by killing him (ii. 20, 21). But they forget the reward of holy souls: the immortality for which God destined all, but the enjoyment of which has now been restricted to the faithful (ii. 22), will cheat them of their desired vengeance. The righteous man cannot be killed except in body: his spirit retains God's image with the incorruption of life that he has preserved. But envy will have its way. Envy introduced murder into the world, when Cain killed his brother, and envy will repeat that first crime to the end (ii. 23, 24, see notes *ad loc.*). The devil's party habitually resort to murder as the final means of clinching their argument with the righteous (ii. 24).

But physical death is the revelation of the meaning of immortality and spiritual death. No doubt these have been in process of development during the earthly life, and death (far from causing any interruption in them) is only a signal for a more rapidly advancing maturity. Immortality lies in obedience to, and fellowship with, Wisdom (vi. 18; viii. 17), and its root is the knowledge of God's power (xv. 3; cp. i. 1, 2 and St John xvii. 3), while on the other hand spiritual death is the state of those whose thoughts are crooked, whose souls devise evil, and whose bodies are pawned to sin (i. 3—5). But death confirms and consummates the righteous: perhaps they have even been snatched away in the best interest of their soul (iv. 11—13). Their souls are in the hand of God (iii. 1): they themselves are in peace (iii. 3) and rest (iv. 7). They died full of hope, and their hope was strong because they carried immortality within them (iii. 4). In the eternal world they receive a crown (iv. 2), and God Himself is their defence and reward (v. 15).

In contrast with this immortality consisting in union with God (the scene of which is not specified), the real meaning of spiritual death comes to light. The souls of the wicked persist, but *metaphorically* they are (and were) dead. They have forfeited the holy immortality of the righteous, and their own condition deserves no other name than death. In fulfilment of their earthly choice, they pay an appropriate penalty (iii. 10).

They have no hope or consolation (iii. 11, 18; v. 14): they lie in the darkness of their own hearts (xvii. 21). They suffer spiritual pain (iv. 19), being tortured with foreboding fears (v. 2) and the tardy but desperate discovery of the falseness of the principles of their earthly life (v. 1—14).

The "day of judgment" is conceived of somewhat vaguely. Wisdom is not a Palestinian book, and therefore the thought of the dead returning to earth (whether without bodies or re-incarnate) to take their part in it, does not necessarily belong to the writer's conception.

This day (of searching out, i. 9; of visitation of souls, iii. 13; of decision, iii. 18; of reckoning up of sins, iv. 20) is spoken of in terms borrowed from current Jewish eschatological belief, but nothing is said as to the scene of the judgment. This judgment declares itself immediately after death, and, without waiting for a resurrection, the souls pass by a kind of selective affinity to reward or retribution[1].

Wisdom contains no doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked. They shall be "a perpetual desolation" in that they have lost their truest life, but no period is stated as being put to their suffering (iv. 19). The continued existence of all is assumed.

It will be seen that all conceptions are spiritualised. Immortality is of a purely ethical kind. The resurrection of the body is not suggested. The writer's doctrine is influenced by Plato and the Stoics.

The persistence of the soul as a separate entity was not a Hebrew conception (Sheol being not a place of departed *spirits*, but of shadow-like personalities), but its individual survival is a salient doctrine of Wisdom. The Stoics who viewed the soul as a fiery current diffused through the body and awaiting ultimate re-absorption into the primal fire, were (like the Jews) vague as to details: they were unable to say, e.g. whether the

[1] That the condemnation of the wicked by the righteous (iv. 16) is ideal and inward, may be inferred from the tone of reflection and self-reproach prevailing in v. 1—14. Grimm, however, holds that iii. 13, iv. 6, 20 point to an external and local final judgment (*Weisheit*, p. 110).

soul was re-absorbed immediately after death, or whether it preserved its distinctness until the great conflagration. But there can be no doubt that in Greek thought upon this subject the author tended to find matter more to his mind than in Jewish speculation.

§ 14. *Eschatology.*

Strictly speaking, there is no Messianic hope in Wisdom, although there are two passages with an outlook over a glorious future, which in a wider sense might be so described. These are iii. 7–9 and v. 16–23, which are both capable of interpretation in three ways.

They may be viewed:

(*a*) as vivid and pictorial descriptions of an ethical and spiritual future, the concrete being the only way of presenting the inward reality.

(*b*) as definite and literal promises concerning a concrete earthly future, when the Jews shall be restored to their theocratic preeminence.

(*c*) as representations of the popular Jewish eschatology, which looked forward to a universal Messianic world sovereignty for Israel, in which the dead would partake, having been restored to earth by a bodily resurrection.

The view adopted in this commentary is (*a*), which is most consonant with the Alexandrine tone of Wisdom, and allows for many discrepancies in detail which cannot be harmonised. Drummond writes "His thoughts evidently stray to the ultimate victory of righteousness in the world: but the language is so highly figurative that it would be hazardous to fix upon him any defined eschatology. His deliberate convictions we may sum up in a single pregnant phrase, 'Incorruption causes to be near to God'" (*Philo Judæus*, i. p. 212).

It is only right however to mention that Grimm deliberately adopts (*b*). In his interpretation of iii. 7–9, he views "they shall shine forth" as referring to a restitution of power, dignity, and happiness to God's people in this world, after their long night of misery and subjection. Further, he regards the

destruction of the stubble by the sparks as a picture of a future extermination of the wicked by the righteous which can have place nowhere except in this world. He anticipates the objection that there is too sudden a leap from the eternal world to the present in iii. 7 by claiming that in a passage where all belongs to the realm of belief the transition is natural and not violent.

The victory of *v.* 7 is followed by the Messianic rule of *v.* 8, which, although exercised upon earth, will be wise and righteous, being carried on by the wise who through association with Wisdom are trained for kingship (vi. 9, 20). He claims that it gives too attenuated a meaning to *v.* 8 to interpret it in the purely spiritual sense of the attainment of freedom and blessedness in the life to come. He clinches his argument by pointing to the latter half of v. 23, which has obvious reference to the accompaniments of an earthly misrule.

§ 15. *Analysis of Contents.*

Part I. Chs. i.—ix.

A. The praise of Wisdom, as the source of true happiness and immortality. Contrast between the estimates, ideals, hopes, and destinies of the godly and the ungodly (chs. i.—v.).

Ch. i. 1—5 Wisdom will dwell only with the upright in thought,
6—11 and in word.
12—15 Life, through righteousness, is the destiny for which God created men.

Three comparisons between materialists and spiritualists, i.e. those who despise and those who follow Wisdom.

I (*a*) Ch. i. 16—ii. 24 Sensuality, and the consequent false estimates of life and death.

(*b*) Ch. iii. 1—9 The meaning of death for the righteous man.

II (*a*) Ch. iii. 10—iv. 6 Earthly immortality is discounted, when the sins of parents are visited on their children.

(*b*) Ch. iv. 7—14 The true immortality is moral and spiritual.

III (*a*) Ch. iv. 15—v. 14 The reversal after death of the opinions entertained by the wicked during life.

(*b*) Ch. v. 15—23 The final vindication of the righteous.

B. The praise of Wisdom. Her origin, activities, and blessings detailed in connection with the search for her by Solomon (chs. vi.—ix.).

Ch. vi. 1—11 Rulers cannot discharge their responsibilities without Wisdom.
12—16 Wisdom meets those who seek her,
17—21 and leads men to the true kingship and immortality.
22—25 The origin and nature of Wisdom.
Ch. vii. 1—6 Solomon began life like any other man.
7—14 But with his choice of Wisdom all good things came to him,
15—22 a and knowledge of every kind.
22 b—viii. 1 The nature and attributes of Wisdom.
Ch. viii. 2—8 The knowledge and efficiency of Wisdom as a teacher.
9—16 Solomon anticipates that Wisdom will win for him fame and happiness.
17—21 He prays to receive her.
Ch. ix. 1—19 Solomon's prayer.

Part II. How Wisdom blesses the worshippers of the true God, and how false worshippers are punished (x.—xix.).

(*a*) Ch. x. The dealings of Wisdom with the heroes of antiquity and the children of Israel.

1, 2 Adam. 3, 4 Cain; Noah.
5 Abraham. 6—9 Lot and the men of Sodom
10—12 Jacob. 13, 14 Joseph.
15—21 Moses and the Israelites at the Exodus.

(*b*) Chs. xi., xii. Contrast between God's treatment of the Israelites, and (i) the Egyptians, (ii) the Canaanites, who were false worshippers.

(i) *Egypt*, ch. xi. 1—xii. 2.

xi. 1—3 Wisdom guided and protected Israel.
4—10 Thirst, and its consequences for Israel and Egypt.
11—14 An aggravation of the vexation of the Egyptians.
15—20 The animal-plagues were sent to punish the Egyptians for their animal-worship.
21—xii. 2 An acknowledgment of God's mercy, love, and desire that sinners should repent.

(ii) *Canaan*, ch. xii. 3—27.

xii. 3—11 The abominations of the Canaanite worship; God's patience.
12—18 God's righteousness the check upon His power.
19—22 Lessons therefrom.
23—27 God's punishments were directed to leading the Egyptians to confess the true God.

(*c*) Chs. xiii.—xv. The origin of idolatry, its folly and its sin. Its demoralising influence upon life.

Ch. xiii. 1—9 Nature-worship. Its culpable failure to recognise God in nature.
10—19 Idol-worship. Its contemptible folly, and perversion of the good gifts of God.

Ch. xiv. 1—11 Digression. Idols and idolaters are odious to God.
12—21 The origin of image-worship.
22—31 Its results in the utter debasement of social life.

Ch. xv. 1—6 The chosen people had been preserved from falling into idolatry.
7—13 The maker of clay idols was conscious of his folly.
14—17 But the worst offenders of all are the Egyptians,
18, 19 who worship loathsome animals.

(*d*) Chs. xvi.—xix. 21 A series of five contrasts between the fortunes of Israel and Egypt, in respect of

(i) *animals*, ch. xvi. 1—14 :
  (*a*) quails *vv.* 1—4,
  (*b*) fiery serpents *vv.* 5—14.
(ii) *fire and water*, *heat and cold*, ch. xvi. 15—29.
(iii) *light and darkness*, ch. xvii. 1—xviii. 4.
(iv) *death*, ch. xviii. 5—25.
(v) *passage of the Red Sea*, ch. xix. 1—21.

Nature generally was made subservient to the purposes of God for His people, and against their enemies.

(*e*) Ch. xix. 22 Conclusion.

§ 16. *MSS. and Text.*

The chief uncial Greek MSS. which contain Wisdom are Cod. Sinaiticus (ℵ), Vaticanus (B), Alexandrinus (A), Cod. Ephremi Syri (C, palimpsest) containing viii. 5—xii. 10, xiv. 19—xvii. 18, xviii. 24—end, and Venetus (V). For a description, see Swete, *Intr. to O.T. in Greek*, pp. 125—132.

There are numerous cursives, the best being 68 (Holmes and Parsons).

The Authorised Version of 1611 was based chiefly on the text of the famous Complutensian Polyglott Bible, 1514 (see Swete, *Introd.* pp. 171, 2). The Revised Version, which is used in this volume, mainly follows the text of B, which is taken as the standard in Dr Swete's *Old Testament in Greek*, the variant readings of ℵ, A, and C being given in an *apparatus criticus* at the foot of each page. The work of revising the English translation of Wisdom and 2 Maccabees was entrusted to the Cambridge Committee, consisting finally of Dr Hort, Dr Westcott, and Dr Moulton, who began their work in 1881, and completed it in 1892. "The singular difficulty and importance of the Book of Wisdom led the revisers to review the version a third time" (Pref. to Apocr. R.V., cp. also *Life and Letters of F. J. A. Hort*, vol. ii., pp. 233, 386, 450).

The Greek text is, on the whole, in a good condition : there are, as might be expected, a number of minor variations, but

there are very few passages (such as xii. 5, 6) in which it seems hopeless, with the materials extant, to arrive at a true reading. B gives the best text, but it can not infrequently be corrected by ℵA, while C (with one brilliant exception, xvi. 3) seems less trustworthy than A.

The version found in the Latin Bible is the old Latin Version. Jerome expressly states that he did not revise the translation of Wisdom (*praef. in Libr. Sal.*). It is possible that in chs. i. 15, ii. 8 it preserves lines which have dropped out of Greek MSS., but for the most part the translation agrees closely with the existing text.

A collation of the Florentine *Codex Amiatinus* may be found in Lagarde, *Mittheil.* i. pp. 241—282. See Hastings, *D. B.* iv. 886.

§ 17. *Wisdom and the New Testament.*

There is no direct quotation from the Book of Wisdom in the N.T., but there is little doubt that its influence was felt by some of the N.T. writers.

(*a*) In St Luke xi. 49 our Lord says "Therefore said the wisdom of God," but the words which follow are not from the Book of Wisdom (see Plummer *ad loc.*). In a few cases the language of St Luke may possibly be a reminiscence of expressions in the book. Lk. ii. 7 recalls Wisd. vii. 4, where the homely detail of the royal child being wrapped in swaddling clothes is recorded. Lk. xii. 20 *τὴν ψυχήν σου αἰτοῦσιν* resembles Wisd. xv. 8 *τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαιτηθεὶς χρέος*. Lk. ix. 31 has the unusual word for decease (*ἔξοδος*) found in Wisd. iii. 2, while Lk. xix. 44 has the same phrase "time of visitation" as Wisd. iii. 7. But these similarities may be purely accidental, or may be due to the influence of St Paul on the mind of the Evangelist.

(*β*) In the Fourth Gospel, a more definite connection may be traced. Not only does the Logos-doctrine of the Prologue exhibit close affinities with the Wisdom-doctrine of our book, but many thoughts in the discourses are closely parallel to thoughts in Wisdom.

(*a*) St John's Logos-doctrine differs from Wisdom-doctrine

in only one point, but that is the vital one, which marks the distinction between two dispensations, viz. "The Word was God." The similarity of the two doctrines may be seen when we consider that it is possible to substitute the name of Christ for that of Wisdom in the doctrinal parts of Wisdom, and to find a fairly complete anticipation (except in the one particular) of Johannine Logos-doctrine. One reason why in N.T. "Word" not "Wisdom" is employed, is probably that the feminine associations of the latter conception as developed in the Book of Wisdom would make the name (though not the doctrine for which it stood) unsuitable for application to the God-Man.

John i. 1.	In the beginning	Wisd. ix. 9. Cp. Prov. viii. 23
	The Word was with God	viii. 3; ix. 4
i. 3.	All things...made by him (διὰ)	vii. 12 b, 22 a; viii. 6
i. 5.	The light shineth	vi. 12
	Darkness overcame it not	vii. 29, 30
i. 9.	The true light	vii. 10
i. 12.	As many as received him	vii. 27 b
i. 14.	Glory as of the only begotten	vii. 25, 26 (cp. *v.* 22 μονογενές)
i. 16.	Of his fulness	vii. 11, 12
	Grace for grace	iii. 14
i. 18.	He hath declared him	ix. 17

Pauline Logos-doctrine is naturally anticipated, cp. Col. i. 13 *the son of his love* (Wisd. viii. 3), while the redemptive work of Christ is foreshadowed by that of Wisdom (i) at the Exodus, x. 15, (ii) in the moral sphere, ix. 18; x. 8, 9. If Christ is the εἰκών (image), Col. i. 15, so is Wisdom (Wisd. vii. 26, cp. ἀπαύγασμα in same *v.* with Hebr. i. 3). Col. i. 16 *In him were all things created* recalls Wisd. ix. 1, 2; Col. i. 17 *In him all things consist* recalls Wisd. i. 7; and 1 Cor. i. 24 *The power of God* recalls Wisd. i. 3.

Bp Westcott has shown (*Gospel of St John*, Intr. p. xviii) that Johannine Logos-doctrine is "not intelligible as an application or continuation of the teaching of Philo": is it unreasonable to argue that, since in the Book of Wisdom was to be found the most highly developed pre-Christian orthodox speculation on

the subject of an intermediary between God and the world, either St Paul, or the writer of the Fourth Gospel, or the unnamed pioneer in Christian Logos-doctrine, availed himself of what he found there? When so great a resemblance between earlier and later writers is observable, it is more natural to explain it by the influence of one upon the other, than to regard it as purely fortuitous. The writings of the Christian Church do not represent an unrelated new beginning: they are grounded in those of the Jewish Church.

(*b*) A few parallelisms of thought and expression are selected from a much larger list.

John iii. 5, xv. 5, 6	Wisd. ix. 6
iii. 13. That came down from heaven	ix. 10
iii. 36. The wrath...abideth	xvi. 5; xviii. 20
v. 20. Loveth the Son, and sheweth	viii. 3; ix. 9
v. 23. Honour the Son	vi. 21
v. 26. To have life in himself	vii. 27
vi. 57. He shall live by me (*ζήσει δι' ἐμέ*), cp. xiv. 19	viii. 13 *ἕξω δι' αὐτὴν ἀθανασίαν* (cp. *v.* 17)
vi. 63. The words	xvi. 12
vi. 65. Except it were given	viii. 21; ix. 4
vii. 7. Me it hateth, because I testify of it	ii. 12
viii. 31, 32. If ye continue..., ye shall know (cp. vii. 17)	iii. 9
viii. 44. A murderer, cp. 1 John iii. 8, 12	ii. 24 (see note)
viii. 46.	vii. 25, nothing defiled can find entrance into her
viii. 51. If a man keep..., he shall never see death	vi. 18 b
ix. 2.	iv. 6

John xii. 35.	Darkness come upon you	Wisd. xvii. 21
xiii. 15.	An example	xii. 19
xiv. 15.	If ye love me, keep	vi. 18 a
xiv. 21.	Will manifest myself	vi. 16
xiv. 26.	The Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send	ix. 17 b
xiv. 27.	Peace, not as the world giveth	xiv. 22
xvi. 27.	Loveth you, because ye have loved me (cp. xiv. 6 b)	vii. 28
xvii. 3.	Life eternal, that they may know thee	xv. 3
xvii. 15.	Not that thou shouldest take them out of the world	iv. 10, 11
xix. 11.	No power at all, except...from above	vi. 3

(γ) The question has been frequently debated whether St Paul owed any of his thought to the author of Wisdom. Grimm (*Intr.* p. 36) holds that any apparent likeness must be traced to the common circle of ideas in which both writers moved. But E. Grafe (*Theol. Abhandl.* Freiburg i. B. 1892), who examines the question in minute detail, is firmly convinced of the debt of St Paul to Wisdom, while Sanday and Headlam (*Romans*, pp. 51, 52, 267—9) print certain passages in Rom. i. and ix. in parallel columns with the related passages in Wisdom.

An illustration of the similarity of thought may be seen in St Paul's doctrine of predestination.

Rom. ix. 19, 20. Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he still find fault? For who withstandeth his will?

Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus?

Wisd. xi. 21. The might of thine arm who shall withstand?

Wisd. xii. 12. For who shall say, What hast thou done? Or who shall withstand thy judgement? And who shall accuse thee for the perishing of nations

which thou didst make? Or who shall come and stand before thee as an avenger for unrighteous men?

Rom. ix. 21. Or hath not *the potter* a right *over the clay, from the same* lump to make one part *a vessel* unto honour, and another unto dishonour?

Wisd. xv. 7. *A potter*,..., mouldeth each several vessel for our service: nay, *out of the same clay* doth he fashion both the *vessels* that minister to clean uses, and those of a contrary sort, all in like manner; but what shall be the use of each..., the craftsman himself is the judge.

Rom. ix. 22, 23. What if God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much longsuffering vessels of wrath *fitted unto destruction*: and that he might make known the riches of his glory upon vessels of mercy...?

Wisd. xii. 10. But judging them by little and little thou gavest them a place of repentance.

xii. 20. For if on them that were enemies of thy servants and *due to death* thou didst take vengeance with so great heedfulness and indulgence, giving them times and place whereby they might escape from their wickedness; with how great carefulness didst thou judge thy sons,...!

Grafe notes three common thoughts (i) the irresistible power of God, (ii) His longsuffering towards His enemies, although He knows it will be of no avail, (iii) the contrast between the fortunes of the enemies and the sons of God.

Further, the use in similar passages of the same image of the potter points towards the dependence of St Paul upon Wisdom, and even Grimm admits that he knows no literary parallel for the idea of the potter making of the same clay vessels for different purposes. There is again a remarkable similarity of expression between Rom. ix. 22 vessels, *fitted unto destruction*

and Wisd. xii. 20 *due to death*. At the same time the words of S. and H. (p. 269) should be borne in mind "If St Paul learnt from the Book of Wisdom some expressions illustrating the Divine power, and a general aspect of the question, he obtained nothing further. His broad views and deep insight are his own. And it is interesting to contrast a Jew who has learnt many maxims which conflict with his nationalism but yet retains all his narrow sympathies, with the Christian Apostle, full of broad sympathy and deep insight."

Grafe also observes (pp. 271 ff.) a similarity between St Paul's treatment of idolatry (Rom. i. 20—29) and that of Wisdom (chs. xii.—xiv.). In Wisdom a distinction is recognised between the cruder (xii. 24; xiii. 10) and the more refined forms of idolatry (xiii. 1—5): while a twofold verdict is given, making allowance for the ignorance of men (xiii. 1), and yet condemning them for not drawing the inference from the glory of the creation that it was meant to suggest (xiii. 1, 9).

The same distinction appears in St Paul's writings. He deals mildly with the nature-worship of the Galatians (Gal. iv. 8—10), but is unsparing (Rom. i. 20 *without excuse*) in his condemnation of image-worship. The Galatians were allowed to have erred because they "knew not God": image-worshippers "knew God," but denied Him (Rom. i. 19, 21).

But the leading point of resemblance between St Paul and Wisdom is that both give a long catalogue of the social evils resulting from false worship (Rom. i. 24—32; Wisd. xiv. 23—27). The details are not the same, but the important thing is that both writers, after a disquisition on the nature and wickedness of idolatry, emphasise its consequences, laying special stress on the unchastity and unnatural vices which it engenders.

Among other Pauline passages which possibly contain points of contact are:

Rom. v. 12	Wisd. ii. 24
Rom. viii. 28	xvi. 17
1 Cor. ii. 16	ix. 13
1 Cor. vi. 2	iii. 8
2 Cor. v. 1—5	ix. 15
Phil. i. 23	iii. 1—3

A passage that calls for special notice is Eph. vi. 13—17. There is an undoubted connection between these *vv.* and Wisd. v. 17--19; but the question of dependence is complicated by the fact that the source-passage for Wisd. v. 17 is Is. lix. 17 (cp. in the same way 1 Cor. ii. 16 above, with Is. xl. 13). Grafe is satisfied that St Paul borrows from Wisdom, on the ground that *panoply* occurs in both, but not in Isaiah, and also that *shield* and *sword* are found in Wisd. and Eph., but are missing from Isaiah.

On the other hand, it may be urged that St Paul borrows the phrase *helmet of salvation* from Isaiah, and uses Greek words for helmet, shield, and sword different in each case from those in Wisdom. It is plain also that when the same image is used in 1 Thess. v. 8, St Paul is borrowing direct from Isaiah. Isaiah however had not the picture of the classical panoply before his eyes, but the writer of Wisdom developed Isaiah's idea by introducing the familiar word, and with it two important parts of the full equipment, viz. *sword* and *shield*, all of which St Paul employs. Accordingly, in spite of the fact that St Paul applies the picture to the Christian while Wisdom (like Isaiah) applies it to God, and uses different Greek words to denote the various pieces of armour, it is hard not to conclude from the presence of *panoply* and *shield* and *sword*, that the Apostle was conscious of the influence of Wisdom when elaborating his picture.

(δ) A few other passages which seem to show traces of the influence of the Book of Wisdom are appended:

James i. 5	Wisd. viii. 21
i. 10, 11	ii. 7, 8
i. 13, 14	i. 12—14
i. 17	i. 14
i. 19	i. 11
ii. 6	ii. 10
ii. 13	vi. 6
iii. 17, 18	vii. 22, 23
iv. 8	vi. 19
v. 5	ii. 6—9
v. 6	ii. 12, 20

Heb.	i. 3	Wisd. vii. 26
	iv. 12	xviii. 15, 16
	xii. 17	xii. 10
		See also Plumptre in *Expositor*, vol. ii. "The Writings of Apollos."
Rev.	ii. 16	v. 20
	ii. 21	xii. 10, 20
	iii. 12	iii. 14
	xvi. 6	xvi. 9
	xix. 13	xviii. 15

It will thus be seen that the Book of Wisdom exercised no small influence upon N.T. Though not directly quoted, it belonged to the mental furniture of the N.T. writers. The extent to which such influence operated must remain indeterminate, but we should not be dealing fairly with the evidence, if we refused to allow that, out of the many coincidences between N.T. and Wisdom, some are due to a reminiscence, whether conscious or unconscious, of the earlier book.

§ 18. *Literature.*

The most important commentaries are those of

GRIMM, C. L. W., Das Buch der Weisheit (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des A.T.), Leipzig, 1860.

DEANE, W. J., The Book of Wisdom, The Greek Text, The Latin Vulgate, and the Authorised English Version with Intr., Crit. App., and a Commentary, Oxford, 1881.

FARRAR, F. W., in the Speaker's Commentary.

For lists of other commentaries, see Grimm, pp. 45, 46, Deane, pp. 42, 43 and Schürer, *Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, § 33 (E.T., div. II. vol. iii. pp. 230, 237 : 3rd German ed. 1898, vol. iii. pp. 382, 383).

Among other books which may be consulted with advantage are

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SIEGFRIED, C., Art. "Wisdom," and "Book of Wisdom" in Hastings' D.B., vol. iv.

TOY, C. H., Art. "Wisdom (Book)" in Enc. Bibl., vol. iv. (edd. Cheyne and Black).

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N.B. The references to Philo follow (except where otherwise stated) the sectional divisions as marked in Cohn and Wendland's smaller edition.

THE
WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth, **1**
Think ye of the Lord [1]with a good mind,

[1] Gr. *in goodness.*

Part I. A.

Ch. I.—Ch. V.

The character of Wisdom: how she is found, and how forfeited. Contrast between the worldly fortunes of the righteous and the wicked, and between their experiences after death.

Ch. I. The pure in heart find Wisdom: death is the reward of immorality.

Ch. I. 1—5. God cannot dwell with evil: Wisdom can associate only with those who resemble her.

1. The book opens without a preface: neither its author nor its destination are known. The *judges of the earth* (cp. ch. vi. 1) who are addressed in this *v.* are rulers in general, an address in keeping with the *ex hypothesi* Solomonic authorship: to none would a king appeal more fitly than to kings. It is hardly conceivable that if (as has been supposed by some commentators) the book was a protest to the Roman authorities against injustices perpetrated upon the Jews at Alexandria, it should be so devoid of feeling and savour so consistently of the study.

Love righteousness] Cp. Ps. xlv. 7. Righteousness in its widest sense, not merely for purposes of right government, but as conformity of thought and deed to the will of God.

judges of the earth] from Ps. ii. 10, and again in ch. vi. 1. *Judges* means rulers, one principal function of rulers being to dispense justice, cp. Ps. lxvii. 4, 1 K. iii. 9. Vulg. *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram.* Dante (*Par.* xviii. 91) sees a band of spirits group themselves into the form of the 35 letters, representing them successively.

Think ye of the Lord with a good mind] lit. *in goodness.* Men's conceptions of God vary with their characters. "Pectus facit theologum." Marg. makes the writer's meaning more clear. Knowledge

And in singleness of heart seek ye him;
2 Because he is found of them that tempt him not,
And is manifested to them that do not distrust him.
3 For crooked thoughts separate from God;
And the *supreme* Power, when it is brought to the proof,
[1]putteth to confusion the foolish:

[1] Gr. *convicteth.*

of God is moral rather than intellectual, cp. Heb. xii. 14; for the sense, cp. Dt. xxviii. 47 LXX.

singleness of heart] from 1 Chr. xxix. 17, where also God is said to "love righteousness." For the Greek word, see Sanday and Headlam, on *Rom.* xii. 8. Cp. Col. iii. 22. The "single-minded" man has no private ends to serve: there is no reservation or *arrière-pensée* in his allegiance. See Charles, *Test. xii Patr.*, note on Iss. iii. 1.

seek ye him] i.e. covet fellowship with God, cp. Dt. iv. 29. Grimm quotes Philo (*de Mon.* § 5) "There is nothing better than to seek the true God, even though it be beyond the power of man to find Him."

2. *he is found*] The doctrine of spiritual affinity pervades the book. Cp. ch. vi. 12, 16. See Prov. viii. 17; St John vi. 37, xviii. 37.

tempt him not] Men tempt God by immoral lives. These words correspond to "with a good mind" in *v.* 1.

is manifested] Cp. Is. lxv. 1; St John xiv. 21.

do not distrust him] i.e. God's will to bless. This clause answers to "in singleness of heart" in *v.* 1. The single-minded throw themselves upon God, and (like Browning's grammarian) "unperplexed, seeking shall find Him." Cp. James i. 6—8.

3. *For*] *vv.* 3—5 stand in contrast with *v.* 2. God is as inaccessible to the perverse, as He is approachable for the upright.

crooked thoughts separate] Cp. Is. lix. 2, 7—9. For *crooked*, cp. Prov. xxi. 8; Dt. xxxii. 5.

thoughts] The Gk. word (λογισμοί) has generally a bad sense, cp. ch. xi. 15, and James ii. 4 (διαλογ.), but cp. 4 Macc. xviii. 2. For the sense, cp. Philo, *Mut. Nom.* § 46 "God standeth afar off from sinners, but He walketh within the souls of the upright."

the supreme *Power*] R.V. plainly points to God as the power in question. This is no doubt possible, but *the power* is more likely to be a synonym for Wisdom (cp. *a holy spirit*, *v.* 5). Wisdom is seen being "brought to the proof" in *vv.* 4, 5. Thus she is spoken of in *vv.* 3, 4, 5, but (for literary reasons) under a different name in each case. Bois (*Essai sur les origines de la phil. Jud.-Alex.* p. 237) recalls Philo's use of *power*, and prefers this interpretation.

brought to the proof] applicable either to God or to Wisdom, when challenged by man's unbelief, cp. Ps. xcv. 9 "Your fathers proved me" (ἐδοκίμασαν LXX.).

putteth to confusion] by increasing their blindness (Grimm). The

Because wisdom will not enter into a soul that deviseth 4
evil,
Nor dwell in a body that is held in pledge by sin.
For a holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, 5
And will start away from thoughts that are without under-
standing,
And will be [1]put to confusion when unrighteousness hath
come in.

[1] Gr. *convicted.*

Greek word indicates punishment and final loss rather than the lighter meaning of "convicting and putting to shame." The writer thinks of the wicked as ungodly by nature, and incapable of restoration: therefore remedial discipline would be futile.

the foolish] Morally foolish. The word is euphemistically used in O.T. to express the practical foolishness of immoral living which ignores God. Cp. Ps. xiv. 1 "The fool hath said."

4. *Because*] *v.* 4 supports the assertions of *v.* 3, the truth of which rests on the essential nature of Wisdom.

wisdom] See Introduction § 9, and cp. *vv.* 3, 5. The question is not whether a soul that devises evil things can ever be wise, but whether it can have affinity with the Wisdom of God.

a soul that deviseth evil] The adj. (κακότεχνος) is poetic, occurring in Homer, *Il.* xv. 14, and is found again ch. xv. 4. Cp. 4 Macc. vi. 25. For the friends of Wisdom, see ch. vi. 12—16.

Nor dwell] Cp. Philo, *Somn.* I. 23 "Strive to be a house of God, a holy temple, a fair dwelling-place for Him."

held in pledge] i.e. wilfully surrendered to sin. The Greek word denotes "one mortgaged to sin." Cp. Rom. vii. 14, and St John viii. 34.

In this *v.* the writer views soul as well as body as liable to sin: elsewhere he traces temptation to the body, cp. ch. ix. 15. He is not however a thorough-going dualist like Philo, who writes (*Migr.* § 2) of "that loathsome prison-house, the body." On the other hand, like Philo, he regards the human personality as twofold, *soul* (or *spirit*) and *body*, cp. ch. ii. 3 and Philo, *Mos.* iii. 39 "man being twofold, body and soul." See Introd. § 12.

5. *holy spirit of discipline*] Bois (*op. cit.* p. 234) urges that this expression is a paraphrase for Wisdom, see Introd. § 9. For Wisdom as a spirit of discipline, cp. ch. vi. 11. She is a spirit, *v.* 6; there is a holy spirit in her, ch. vii. 22. This is the first use of πν. ἅγιον in the Gk. Bible, cp. ch. ix. 17.

will flee deceit] Her hatred of deceit may be inferred from the description of her origin in ch. vii. 25, 26.

thoughts...without understanding] in a moral sense, see *v.* 3.

put to confusion] like modesty in the presence of the obscene. Or "will be scared away" (Grimm).

6 For [1]wisdom is a spirit that loveth man,
And she will not hold a [2]blasphemer guiltless for his lips;
Because God beareth witness of his reins,
And is a true overseer of his heart,
And a hearer of his tongue:
7 Because the spirit of the Lord hath filled [3]the world,

[1] Some authorities read *the spirit of wisdom is loving to man.*
[2] Or, *reviler* [3] Gr. *the inhabited earth.*

vv. **6—11.** GOD NOT ONLY REFUSES WISDOM TO THE IMPURE (*vv.* 3—5), BUT HE ACTIVELY PUNISHES THEM. IF HE CAN SEARCH HEARTS, SINFUL WORDS CANNOT ESCAPE DETECTION.

6. *wisdom is a spirit*] Text follows ℵB, and is preferable to the reading of A and Vulg. See marg.

that loveth man] lit. *philanthropic*, cp. ch. vii. 23. See Prov. viii. for this humanitarian aspect of Wisdom (Introd. § 9). She is indeed humane, but exacts punishment when deserved, so loving is she towards the souls of men. Cp. Ps. lxii. 12. Wisdom reflects the mind of God who created all things but loves men best of all, as being the noblest product of Wisdom's work. Cp. ch. ix. 2, 3; Prov. viii. 31. φιλάνθρωπος is very frequent in Class. lit., but is not found in O.T. (except Apocr.) or N.T.; N.T. however has its corresponding adv. and subst. Acts xxvii. 3; xxviii. 2.

a blasphemer] Marg. *reviler*. "Blasphemy" is not confined to words directed against God, but includes all slander and calumny, see Eph. iv. 31. The writer probably has in view such utterances as those in ch. ii. 1—20.

beareth witness] Cp. Ps. xxxiii. 15; cxxxix. 1—5. The *reins* are viewed as the seat of the feelings, and the *heart* as the source of thoughts and ideas.

Grimm sees in the sequence *reins*, *heart*, *tongue* an inverted climax: God knows men's feelings, their unexpressed thoughts, their spoken words. For *hearts and reins*, cp. Ps. vii. 9; Jer. xi. 20.

a true overseer of his heart] Cp. Job xx. 29, LXX.; Ecclus. xlii. 20. The Greek word is generally used in LXX. in an official sense, "task-master," or "captain," but here in the same sense as in Philo, *Somn.* i. 15 "God is the overseer of all, to whom all things are open, even all that is done invisibly in the depths of the heart." Cp. *Clem. Rom.* lix. 3 "Creator and overseer of all spirits." *True*, in that God fulfils the highest functions of overseer. He cannot be deceived, or biassed; He cannot forget: there is no human shortcoming in the scrutiny He exercises.

a hearer of his tongue] Cp. Epict. ii. 8 "If an image of your God was in the room, you would not behave as you do, and yet when God is within you and oversees and overhears everything, you are not ashamed to think and act in this way." Cp. Philo, *Jos.* § 43.

7. *the spirit of the Lord hath filled*] The proof of the preceding

And that which holdeth all things together hath knowledge of *every* voice.

Therefore no man that uttereth unrighteous things shall be unseen; 8

[1]Neither shall Justice, when it convicteth, pass him by.

[1] Some authorities read *Nor indeed.*

assertions. Either mediately or in person God fills the universe. It is not clear whether *the spirit of the Lord* stands for God or the Wisdom of God. Wisdom in ch. viii. 1 is given the attributes of omnipresence, while in this book there is no mention of divine omnipresence. The Alexandrine idea was that God acted upon the world through the Logos, while the Wisdom mediated His immanence. And so here, it seems more in keeping with the author's view of the universal activity of Wisdom, to see in her the medium whereby knowledge of the words of men is brought to God: Wisdom is the "ear of jealousy" (*v.* 10).

On the other hand for O.T. writers, the spirit of God denotes God in His activity in the world, and we have in Ps. cxxxix. 7 and Jer. xxiii. 24 the more characteristically Jewish conception of God's immediate presence, which is to be found also in Philo, *Leg. All.* iii. 2 "God hath filled all things, and hath passed through all things, and hath left nothing void or unoccupied by Himself." Cp. *ibid.* i. 14, *Sacr.* 18, *Moses* ii. 31. Farrar quotes Pope:—

> "All are but parts of one stupendous whole
> Whose body nature is and God the soul;
> That...
> Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent."

the world] οἰκουμένη (see marg.) cp. Prov. viii. 31; no limitation of the sphere of Wisdom is intended, but her activity in this passage is directed towards human objects.

holdeth all things together] Cp. Ecclus. xliii. 26 "By his word all things consist"; Col. i. 17; Heb. i. 3; and ch. vii. 17 "the constitution (lit. *consistence*) of the world." The idea of a world-principle holding the sum of things together appears in Aristotle (*de Mundo* 6) "the all-containing cause." The author is employing what is a Stoic and by no means a Jewish conception, which was adopted by the Alexandrian Jews, and appears constantly in Philo, cp. *Q. R. D. H.* § 38 "The Logos is the universal chain, who has filled all things with his being"; id. *plant.* § 2; Clem. Rom. § 27.

Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 15, 39) writes of the Stoic deity "holding together nature and all things." The Stoic God was soul, spirit, reason of the world, providence, destiny, universal law.

8. *Therefore no man*] Cp. Jer. xxiii. 24 of false prophets, "Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him?" and Job xxxiv. 21—23.

Neither shall] Text follows ℵA (οὐδὲ μὴ).

Justice] Personified, cp. Acts xxviii. 4 R.V. In ch. xiv. 31 occurs

9 For in *the midst of* his counsels the ungodly shall be searched out;
And the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord
To bring to conviction his lawless deeds:
10 Because *there is* an ear of jealousy *that* listeneth to all things,
And the noise of murmurings is not hid.
11 Beware then of unprofitable murmuring,
And refrain your tongue from backbiting;

"the Justice of them that sin," which answers to the inner law of moral compensation which cannot be evaded even by successful sin. Philo, *Post. C.* § 4 tells of the Justice that punishes the ungodly waiting for Cain, cp. id. *de conf. l.* § 24 "an avenging and incorruptible Justice."

pass him by] Justice is no casual wayfarer: she is the inevitable reaction upon wrong-doing.

9. *his counsels*] The Gk. word (διαβούλια), cp. *v.* 3, is used in a bad sense, implying *craftiness*. Cp. Ps. x. 2; Hos. iv. 9. For the sense, cp. Epict. ii. 14 "Philosophers say that men should learn before anything else that God exists and governs the world, and that it is impossible to hide from Him our deeds or even our thoughts."

Perhaps the rendering of this line should be "There shall be examination into the counsels of the ungodly." Cp. forensic use of ἐξέτασις in 3 Macc. vii. 5.

To bring to conviction his lawless deeds] rather *lawlessnesses*, cp. Dt. xv. 9, i.e. the counsels and the words referred to in the preceding lines. Philo, *Dec.* § 17 writes "the conviction that is innate in and inhabits each man, at once his accuser and his judge, wages a truceless war with the disobedient."

Although the writer has in mind an exposure of the sinner by Wisdom, and Philo rather the stings of conscience, psychologically the inner reality is one and the same.

10. *an ear of jealousy*] Philo, evidently recalling the teaching of Zeno (cp. Diog. Laert. *Zeno* § 79) writes *de Somn.* i. § 22 "the highest and purest spirits do not enter into human bodies, but act as eyes and ears of the great King, overseeing and hearing everything." For the genitive of quality, cp. Num. v. 14 LXX. "a spirit of jealousy."

God's jealousy is shown in O.T. (1) on behalf of the chosen people, (2) for His own honour. It is in the latter sense that God is spoken of here as jealous, as He watches the words and thoughts of men.

noise of murmurings] An intentional resemblance in the Gk. between *ous* (ear) and *throus* (noise). Even the unspoken murmurings of the heart are overheard. Cp. Ex. xvi. 7, 8, 9, 12, where God hears the murmuring of the people.

11. *unprofitable murmuring*] "unprofitable" is a softened expression for *soul-destroying*. For *murmurers*, cp. Jude *vv.* 14—16.

backbiting] Better *blasphemy*. The Gk. word (καταλαλιὰ) has in

Because no secret utterance shall go on its way void,
And a mouth that belieth destroyeth a soul.
Court not death in the error of your life; 12
Neither draw upon yourselves destruction by the works of your hands:
Because God made not death; 13

N.T. the same sense of speaking evil of *men*. But the corresp. vb. is used in LXX. to denote speaking against God (Numb. xxi. 5; Ps. lxxviii. 19); and this is the meaning here. There may be a reference to those apostate or wavering Jews of Alexandria who did not hesitate to express their despair of the theocracy openly.

go on its way void] For this use of *void* (κενόν), cp. Is. lv. 11, where Cod. Marchal. has "So shall my word be; it shall not return to me void." The whispered word may be physically unsubstantial, but it has concrete moral effects.

a mouth that belieth] lit. *that speaketh falsely against* (*God*). Philo, *fuga* § 15 writes "It leaves an incurable stain upon the soul when one says that God is the author of evil."

destroyeth a soul] This expression is used of physical death in Ecclus. xxi. 2. Here it refers to the loss of spiritual life (Introd. § 13). Physical death as the penalty of sin is not in question: the writer is thinking of that soulless existence of the wicked (present and future) which, metaphorically speaking, is death.

vv. 12—15. God's will for men is that their soul should live.

12. *Court not death*] The last words of *v.* 11 introduce the subject of *vv.* 12—15. For *courting death* cp. next *l.*, and *v.* 16. The persistence of the wicked in their evil ways seems explicable on no other hypothesis than that they desire spiritual death. Cp. Prov. viii. 36, xxi. 6.

in the error of your life] Generally, for "any ways of life that go astray." *Your life* supplies a rhetorical antithesis to *court not death*.

neither draw upon yourselves] Both *court* and *drag* are strong words, the former implying violent desire and the latter violent effort. LXX. uses the same Gk. word in Is. v. 18, cp. ch. xix. 3.

works of your hands] Philo (*det. pot.* § 32) writes "Moses says it is not God who is the author of our evils, but our own hands, by which he intends the voluntary preference of our minds for the worse course." Cp. Enoch xcviii. 4 "Sin has not been sent upon the earth, but man of himself has created it."

13. *Because God made not death*] Nothing evil can have its origin in God, who is altogether good. Such is the doctrine of Philo, reiterated consistently through his writings, and anticipated here. Philo's inference is interesting, if not (on account of its somewhat unworthy

Neither delighteth he when the living perish:
14 For he created all things that they might have being:
And [1]the generative powers of the world *are* healthsome,

[1] Or, all *the races* of creatures *in the world*

view of God's motives) convincing. Cp. *de mut.* § 4, and especially *de conf. ling.* § 35, 36. "'Let us make man.' Why is the plural used? In order that men's successes may be attributed to God, but their failures may be laid upon others. For it did not seem right to God to fashion with His own hand the downward inclination in man, wherefore He entrusted this portion of the work to His subordinate agents. God is the author of good things alone, and of nothing at all that is evil, since He is Himself the highest of all things that exist and the most perfect good."

There is no solution here of the problem of evil and death. If Philo refuses to charge God with being Creator of evil, he takes away with one hand what he gives with the other. For his position is essentially dualistic, and he makes evil to be something standing over against God and independent of Him. An evil that is co-eternal with God is a more terrible problem than an evil permitted by God.

Neither delighteth he] Cp. Ezek. xxxiii. 11 "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked." *The living* may be either *living men* or *things that have life*.

The passage seems to contain a reminiscence of Is. liv. 16 LXX. "But I created thee not for destruction, to cause thee to perish."

14. *created all things...being*] "All things" includes the irrational part of creation, and the various stages of growth and decay through which the brutes and the plants pass. God created all things to partake in some real degree of His own nature, which is fundamentally Being. Cp. Ex. iii. 14 (LXX.) "I am He that is." Epict. iii. 24 writes "God created all men for happiness, for stability." Cp. Philo, *Moses* ii. 8 "For seeing that God alone hath existence of a truth, He is Maker, since he bringeth into existence things that are not."

The gift of positive being to the creation by the Creator here suggested, involves something of the same intimateness of relation as was perhaps expressed in St John i. 3, 4 "That which hath been made was life in him."

and the generative powers] Marg. "all *the races* of creatures *in the world*." The rendering of text is hardly possible. The alternative rendering in marg. indicates a doubt in the mind of the translators whether the Gk. word can have an active sense. There are four uses of γένεσις in LXX. and Apocrypha: (*a*) birth, (*b*) the process of coming into being, (*c*) a generation, (*d*) a tribe, or species. If the author meant *generative powers*, a subst. with a different termination would be demanded. The "process of coming into being" passes readily into the "things which have come to be," but not into "that which brings things into being." Marg. must accordingly be followed,

And there is no poison of destruction in them:
Nor hath Hades [1]royal dominion upon earth,
For righteousness is immortal: 15

[1] Or, *a royal house*

which has the support of Vulg. *nationes terrae*, i.e. the products of the earth. The meaning is that herbs are not by nature poisonous, nor wild beasts destructive, but human sin has caused a general marring of the divine scheme. Gk. might be rendered *natural processes*, in which case there would be an antithesis between this line and the preceding, the originating decree of the Creator being distinguished from those subsequent processes whereby things seem to make themselves. With *γενέσεις* cp. the designations of God in ch. xiii. 3, 5, *γενεσιάρχης*, *γενεσιουργός*.

healthsome] The Gk. word is frequently found in Philo in an active sense, cp. *ebr.* § 3, *Moses* i. § 17.

poison of destruction] Vulg. *medicamentum exterminii*. The soundness of the physical world in which men are placed is contrasted with the moral evil that works within them. It is not from God's world that men derive the poison that inflames their souls.

Nor hath Hades royal dominion] Marg. *a royal house*. Text gives the better sense, though both renderings are permissible. If the Gk. word *βασίλειον* be translated as in marg., 'a royal house' stands for the external symbol of the royal dominion, the part for the whole. But text is simpler, and presents a more solid antithesis to *God made not... neither delighteth he...for he created*, etc. Emphasis is laid on the rival sovereignties. For Gk. in the sense of *dominion* see 1 K. xiv. 8; 2 Macc. ii. 17; and of *palace* Prov. xviii. 19. In ch. v. 16 it means *royal crown*. Hades is here personified, and practically corresponds to the Greek Pluto, the God of the lower regions.

15. *righteousness is immortal*] Either righteousness leads its followers to immortality, or (abstr. for concr., in contrast with *ungodly men*, *v.* 16) the righteous are immortal, i.e. possess the life spiritual.

Righteousness is introduced somewhat abruptly. We should expect a link between *vv.* 14 and 15, such as "For [God destined His creation for righteousness, and] righteousness is..." The nature of God as revealed in O.T. points to a fundamental identity between the Good and the Existent. Contrast with Philo's "Folly is an undying evil" (*det. pot.* § 48). Vulg. supplies a new line *iniustitia autem mortis acquisitio est*: no Greek MSS. have this line, which was probably introduced to complete the parallelism. Grimm however is in favour of it. For the life-giving power of Wisdom, cp. Prov. iii. 18. Philo, *plant.* § 27 has "The nature of the Good is incorruptible." Cp. Antisthenes in Diog. Laert. vi. 1, 4 "Those who would be immortal must live piously and righteously."

16 But ungodly men by their hands and their words called
[1]death unto them:
Deeming him a friend they [2]consumed away,
And they made a covenant with him,

[1] Or, *Hades* Gr. *him.* [2] Or, *were consumed* with love of him

Ch. I. 16—Ch. V. 23.

At this point begins a series of three comparisons between the thoughts, character, and destiny of the righteous and the wicked. The distinctions are fairly clearly marked, five out of the six sections beginning with a keyword distinctive of the section, while the sixth begins with what is certainly a false reading and with a word that is readily emended into the necessary distinctive word. It will be noticed that the sections devoted to the wicked are much longer than the others, two of them being occupied with rather tedious monologues.

The sections are as follows:—

I. {I. 16—II. 24, ἀσεβεῖς δὲ. (But ungodly men...)
{III. 1—9, δικαίων δὲ. (But...of the righteous...)

II. {III. 10—IV. 6, οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς. (But the ungodly...)
{IV. 7—14, δίκαιος δὲ. (But a righteous man...)

III. {IV. 15—V. 14, οἱ δὲ *ἄνομοι*. (But the lawless...)
{V. 15—23, δίκαιοι δὲ. (But the righteous...)

The sections devoted to the righteous are all of an eschatological character, but those which deal with the ungodly present a distinct time-sequence.

Comparison I. (*a*) Ch. I. 16—Ch. II. 20. The materialist—his hopelessness, his sensuality, his intolerance.

16. *But ungodly men*] This *v.* repeats *v.* 12 with emphatic irony.

by their hands] i.e. by their works, see *v.* 12. The writer pictures the words and deeds of wicked men as constituting an invitation to God's rival.

death] Marg. *Hades.* Gk. has *him.*

a friend] Cp. ch. xv. 6 "lovers of evil things," and Prov. viii. 36 "They that hate me love death."

consumed away] either lit., in consequence of their misplaced friendship, or metaph. as in marg. The latter use is seen in Ps. cxxxix. 21, and is to be preferred. The lit. use appears in Lev. xxvi. 39 LXX. If the vb. (ἐτάκησαν) is taken metaphorically, there is a fine climax in which men's frantic love for self-destruction is vigorously pictured. First, they invite the guest; next, they pine with love for him; and finally they pledge themselves in covenant with him.

made a covenant] perhaps drawn from Is. xxviii. 15 LXX. "We made a covenant with Hades, and a bond with Death." Cp. Philo, *Quod Deus* § 11 "who made a treaty and agreement with their body," and *Migr.* § 3.

Because they are worthy to be of his portion.

For they said [1]within themselves, reasoning not aright, 2
Short and sorrowful is our life;
And there is no healing when a man cometh to his end,

[1] Or, *among*

they are worthy] A leading doctrine in this book is that of a spiritual selective affinity, similar to that traceable in the Fourth Gospel. Cp. in a good and bad sense, Rev. iii. 4 and xvi. 6 "They are worthy."

The wicked are "worthy" of Hades because by a kind of fate like always gravitates to like.

of his portion] the words reappear in ch. ii. 24. Gk. means *a possession*, esp. by inheritance. The wicked are made over to their natural king and become his property by their own choice, and yet a choice that was inevitable. They have given themselves to sin, and are prisoners of their own limitations. For *portion*, cp. Col. i. 12, and 4 Macc. xviii. 3.

In connection with this *v.*, Pfleiderer holds that Wisdom was written by one who desired to attack the Pagan mysteries, and that this *v.* was specially directed against the initiated. The Greeks had come to identify the god of death (Hades) with the god of life (Dionysus), and this identification the author accepts. But he denies that this conflate divinity is a god of life. The God of life is the God of the Jews. Their God is not Hades, the true God stands in no relation whatever to death (Bois, *op. cit.* p. 295).

ii. 1. Speculative materialism is not in question, rather a practical materialism like that of Ps. xiv. 1. Cp. "Every one that doeth evil hateth the light." The anti-social effects of a life of sensuality are pointed out; in *v.* 10 the selfish lawlessness which gives pain for the sheer delight of exercising brute force, and in *vv.* 12—20 the spite which wreaks itself on those whose religious profession and conduct are a galling condemnation of the hedonist.

For] The charges in *v.* 16 are made explicit.

they said within themselves] A.V. *For* the ungodly *said, reasoning with themselves*, follows Vulg. which has *cogitantes apud se*, but for reasons of rhythm the division of the words adopted by the text is the better. For *saying within oneself*, cp. St Luke vii. 39, xvi. 3: for *reasoning within oneself*, cp. St Matt. xvi. 7, 8, xxi. 25. Marg. offers the alternative *among themselves*, but that would suggest rather the deliberations of a council (*vv.* 10—20) than the reflections which arise in periods of reaction and depression (*vv.* 1—9). Perhaps however a *double entendre* was intended.

Short and sorrowful] Cp. Eccl. ii. 23, v. 17 LXX. Job x. 20 "Is not the life of my time short?" LXX.; *id.* xiv. 1; Gen. xlvii. 9.

no healing] Vulg. *refrigerium*, possibly under the influence of theological conceptions. But the Gk. is common in LXX., and bears

And none was ever known that [1]gave release from Hades.
2 Because by mere chance were we born,

[1] Or, *returned out of Hades*

its usual meaning here, *no remedy*. Cp. Nah. iii. 19; Jer. xiv. 19; Ps. xxxviii. 3, 7. The words express either a cheerless fatalism, or else a positive disbelief in the power or will of God to postpone the evil day. They take no account of such testimonies as Ps. xxx. 2 "Thou hast *healed* me," or Is. xxxviii. 17.

that gave release] This rendering gives only a repetition of the prec. line:—"there is no remedy, and none to administer one." Further, instead of the aor. we should have expected the pres. or fut. participle for the transitive sense. Marg. *that returned* is preferable, as offering a wider variation of sense:—"there is no remedy, and there is no exception to the fatal law."

But is the Gk. vb. transitive here? It is used trans. in ch. xvi. 14 in a somewhat similar connection, and it appears in the passive in ch. v. 12, but in all the six other passages in Apocr. where it is found in the active, it is intransitive, in the sense of *return*, cp. Eccl. viii. 8. The negative is much stronger, and the despair more pronounced, when it is denied that any human soul has ever returned from the grave, than when the achievements of Elijah and Elisha, and the legends of Heracles and Orpheus, are merely ignored.

Hades] For the O.T. conception, cp. in this series, Kirkpatrick, *Psalms* Vol. I. pp. xciii—xcvii, and Davidson, *Job*, note on pp. 103, 4.

There is a touch of irony in the involuntary confession on the part of those who are making terms with Hades, that there are *uestigia nulla retrorsum*.

The regret here expressed finds no place in the philosophy of Epicurus. Epicureanism proper made light of death. It argued that death is not terrible when present but only when expected. For while we live, death is non-existent for us; when we are dead, we are unconscious that we are so. And so, for the living as well as for the dead, there is no such thing as death. Diog. Laert. x. § 125. Cp. Epict. ii. 5 § 12 "What is born, must be again resolved. I am not an age, only a man; a part of the whole, even as an hour is part of the day. I must be present like the hour, and I must become past like the hour. What does it concern me how I pass?" Cp. Lucr. iii. 830 ff.

2. *Because by mere chance were we born*] Vulg. wrongly *ex nihilo*. There is a flavour of Epicureanism about the passage, and Epicurus taught that nothing is made out of nothing (Diog. Laert. x. § 38). He held that as the atoms fell through the void of space, slight accidental deviations occurred, and by this means there ensued a continual process of combination between the atoms. By this process of fortuitous amalgamation, the world of things as we see it was to be accounted for. Contrast Cic. *Tusc.* i. 49 "Non temere nec fortuito...creati sumus."

And hereafter we shall be as though we had never been:
Because the breath in our nostrils is smoke,
And [1]while our heart beateth reason is a spark,
Which being extinguished, the body shall be turned into ashes, 3
And the spirit shall be dispersed as thin air;
And our name shall be forgotten in time, 4

[1] Or, *reason is a spark* kindled *by the beating of our heart*

we shall be as though we had never been] Cp. Obadiah 16 LXX. ℵ has the variant ὑπάρχοντες, probably a reminiscence of Obadiah.

Because the breath in our nostrils is smoke] Cp. Job xxvii. 3 LXX. There is a different use of the same simile in Job xli. 20. For smoke, as a symbol of unsubstantialness, cp. Ps. cii. 3.

and while our heart beateth reason is a spark] The superficial meaning of these words is that our best life is little better than a spark, so precarious is our position. But it is hard to avoid the conclusion that there is a half-concealed cynical allusion to the speculations of Greek philosophy. Heraclitus held that fire was the origin of all things, and Zeno developed the idea further. He held that the soul was a fiery principle with which we are inspired and by which we move (Diog. Laert. vii. § 157). If this theory is treated sarcastically, by a process of *reductio ad absurdum*, its followers are landed in the cheering thought, that our soul is a spark, and our breath the smoke of its smouldering. The Logos, or reason, in a man, was supposed to reside in the governing part of his being which was closely connected with the heart (*ibid.* § 159): the ancient philosophers had not grasped the secret of the functions of the brain. For this reason the marginal reading is to be preferred, *reason is a spark* kindled *by the beating of our heart*. The Greek philosophers "supposed that the beating of the heart produced thought in the form of gleams or sparks from the fire-substance of the soul. 'Breath' and 'thoughts' to them are merely the results of mechanism" (Farrar). There is something singularly modern in this early speculation. Modern materialists hold that thought is produced by molecular change; cp. Cabanis "The brain secretes thought as the liver bile." For ὁ λόγος (reason) one cursive has ὀλιγος (little), following which A.V. renders *a little spark*.

3. *the body...into ashes*] Life is a spark of fire which gradually consumes the body and leaves only ashes (Deane). Probably, however, the words are only an adaptation of Job xiii. 12 LXX. "Your boasting shall become like ashes, and your body clay."

dispersed] For the Gk., cp. ch. v. 14, where the word is used of smoke.

thin air] lit. *gaping*. Air is fugitive and unsubstantial.

4. *our name shall be forgotten*] The greatest calamity that could befall a man. In earlier ages, when the idea of personal immortality had

And no man shall remember our works;
And our life shall pass away as the traces of a cloud,
And shall be scattered as is a mist,
When it is chased by the beams of the sun,
And [1]overcome by the heat thereof.
5 For our allotted time is the passing of a shadow,
And [2]our end retreateth not;

[1] Gr. *weighed down.* [2] Or, *there is no putting back of our end*

not emerged, future life meant no more than remembrance by future generations. Cp. 2 Sam. xviii. 18; Ps. xlix. 11. In the Egyptian Book of the Dead, several chapters are devoted to the preservation of the name in the next world. The Hebrew and Egyptian ideas, though not identical, agree in this, that unless an object had a name it could not exist, and if the name were lost, it perished. For the perishing of the name, cp. Dt. ix. 14; Ps. cix. 13 (note in this series); Job xviii. 17, 19.

shall remember] Cp. Eccl. i. 11.

pass away] For the Gk. word, cp. 1 John ii. 17.

as...a cloud] Cp. Philo, *Quod Deus* § 36 "Like a cloud, her great good fortune has passed away." Cp. Hos. xiii. 3; Job vii. 9.

a mist] Cp. Job xxiv. 20 LXX.

chased] Farrar quotes Ov. *Trist.* ii. 142:—

"Nube solet *pulsa* candidus ire dies."

overcome] βαρυνθεῖσα, lit. *weighed down*, Vulg. *aggrauata.* The word does not seem very appropriate. One cursive has μαρανθεῖσα (lit. *withered*, metaph.). The LXX. of Job vii. 9 (ἀποκαθαρθέν) makes καθαρθεῖσα possible: as a mist is cleaned away from the sky by the sun's heat, so the name perishes. This has the advantage of being true to physical science, although the point may not be pressed in dealing with an ancient writer: heat causes vapour to evanesce, but what condenses it and precipitates it as rain is *cold.* If mg. *weighed down* is retained (text does not face the difficulty), the idea is of *weariness*: the cloud, chased by the sun's rays, is worn down with exertion. Cp. St Matt. xx. 12 "the *burden* of the day."

5. *our allotted time*] Text follows ℵ, καιρός, Vulg. *tempus nostrum.* For *shadow*, cp. 1 Chr. xxix. 15; Job viii. 9, xiv. 2; Eccl. vi. 12, viii. 13. Probably the shadow is that of a sun-dial; cp. Ecclus. xlvi. 4, xlviii. 23 (ἀνεπόδισεν, *returned*, Is. xxxviii. 8). ἀναποδισμὸς occurs in the next *l.*, and may help to determine the reference of *shadow* here.

retreateth not] Vulg. *non est reuersio*, so marg. which is preferable, *no putting back of our end* (see prec. note).

The line does not mean that there is no recurrence of death, because man can only die once and one death exhausts his store; but that our death cannot be put back, any more than under normal conditions the shadow on the dial.

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Because it is fast sealed, and none [1]turneth it back.
Come therefore and let us enjoy the good things [2]that *now* 6
are;
And let us use the creation [3]with all our soul [4]as youth's
possession.
Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and perfumes; 7

[1] Or, *cometh again* [2] Or, *that are* [3] Gr. *earnestly*.
[4] Some authorities read *even as our youth*.

sealed] The end of man's life is *sealed* in the sense of certainty and irreversible destiny, cp. Dan. vi. 17, xii. 9, as a document is sealed for authentication.

turneth it back] better than marg. The Gk. verb is transitive in ch. xvi. 14; cp. the parallel use in Is. xxxviii. 8 LXX. (ἀποστρ.). But ἀναστρ. is intr. in 2 Sam. xii. 23, and Ecclus. xl. 11. For the sense, cp. Ecclus. xxxviii. 21.

6. *Come therefore*] *vv.* 6—9 are an expansion of Is. xxii. 13 (cp. 1 Cor. xv. 32); cp. Is. lvi. 12, and Eccl. iii. 12, ix. 7. These verses exemplify "the dregs of Epicurean theory" (Farrar). Epicurus himself could say (Diog. Laert. x. 140) "It is impossible to live pleasurably, without living wisely and honourably and justly"; but pleasure, however highly it may be conceived, when viewed as the chief good, gives a false direction to the moral system.

that now *are*] mg. *that are*, i.e. that have real being. Either rendering is permissible: if the latter is adopted, it expresses the materialist's sneer that spiritual blessings are either future or unseen and therefore possibly imaginary, as contrasted with the pleasures of sense which at least belong to the present and can be seen, handled, and tested. With this as his standard of reality, the hedonist views sensual pleasures as the things that really are, and thus falls under the condemnation of ch. xiii. 1.

the creation] frequently in Wisdom and Ecclus. for the aggregate of created things. Cp. Rom. viii. 19.

as youth's possession] So ℵA (*νεότητος*), Vulg. agrees with B *ὡς νεότητι*, *tanquam in iuuentute*, i.e. as in youth when pleasure is keenest, or energy is most abounding. A. H. M^c^Neile suggests *ὡς νεότης* with the same meaning. Neither text, nor marg. which follows B, provides a satisfactory sense; an early error seems probable. I suggest a very simple change, to read *κτίσεως* for *κτίσει ὡς*, and to follow B and keep *νεότητι*; the sense will be "Let us use the youth of creation." This is expanded in *vv.* 7, 8 "Let no flower of *spring* pass us by...rosebuds *before they be withered*." Then, this call to enjoy the youthful elements in creation is wilfully supplemented by the call to abuse that in it which is past youth, *v.* 10, and the picture is complete. Self-indulgence tends always to issue in intolerance towards the unfit.

7. *fill ourselves*] Text, by zeugma, makes the Gk. verb do double

And let no flower of [1]spring pass us by:
8 Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered:
9 Let none of us go without his share in our proud revelry:
Everywhere let us leave tokens of *our* mirth:
Because this is our portion, and our lot is this.
10 Let us oppress the righteous poor;

[1] Some authorities read *air*.

duty "*fill* ourselves with wine, and *anoint* ourselves with unguents." For *wine and perfumes*, cp. Prov. xxvii. 9 LXX; Is. xxv. 6, 7; Amos vi. 6.

But (by hendiadys) *wine and perfumes* may stand for *perfumed wine*, cp. Song viii. 2 LXX.

flower of spring] Text follows A, ἔαρος, cp. Vulg. *flos temporis*, which is preferable to ἄέρος of ℵB "flower that scents the air."

For flowers at feasts, cp. Philo, *Somn.* i. § 20 in a similar passage "couches strewn with flowers."

8. *rosebuds, before they be withered*] and we with them. For the idea, cp. Lam. v. 16; Judith xv. 13. Farrar quotes Anacreon "while life lasts pour unguents over me, and crown my head with roses. For life is like a swift revolving chariot wheel." Cp. Hor. *Od.* I. xxxvi. 15 "Neu desint epulis rosae." Cp. Becker, *Charicles*, vi. n. 10.

After this *v.* Vulg. adds *nullum pratum sit quod non pertranseat luxuria nostra:* "let there be no meadow untrodden by our riot." An old glossary (in Cod. Coislin. 394, Paris) states that λειμών (meadow) occurs in Wisdom, and therefore some would accept this line as authentic. But it does not seem to have been noticed that Vulg. is simply a rendering of the first *l.* of *v.* 9, with λειμών substituted for ἡμῶν. Either this *l.* was introduced to complete the apparently unfinished *v.* 8, or it is the original reading, and *v.* 9 *a* is the interpolation. *v.* 9 *a* as it stands is somewhat pointless, and adds nothing to the sense.

9. *our proud revelry*] The Gk. word (ἀγερωχία) is found nowhere else in Gk. Bible except in 2 Macc. ix. 7 and 3 Macc. ii. 3, where it has the meaning of arrogant dissoluteness. It represents a temper that cannot live and let live: it must tyrannize over others.

tokens] the plundered gardens, the trampled fields, the fading garlands, and the oppressed poor.

our portion, and our lot] Cp. Is. lvii. 6 LXX. "That is thy portion, this is thy lot," and Eccl. iii. 22, ix. 9; Jer. xiii. 25. Let us enjoy life while it lasts: we have nothing else to do, and nothing more to expect (Grimm).

10. *vv.* 10—20 contain a protracted tirade against the righteous man. Like ch. v. 3—14, this passage betrays the literary rather than the circumstantial character of the book. If Wisdom had been produced under the influence of very deep patriotic or religious feeling, these passages could not have appeared in their present form. Besides

Let us not spare the widow,
Nor reverence the hairs of the old man gray for length of years.
But let our strength be *to us* a law of righteousness; 11
For that which is weak is [1]found to be of no service.
But let us lie in wait for the righteous man, 12
Because he is of disservice to us,
And is contrary to our works,
And upbraideth us with sins against [2]the law,

[1] Gr. *convicted.* [2] Or, *law*

being dramatically inartistic, they are cold and tedious: it would be impossible to say of them *facit indignatio uersus.*

Let us oppress the righteous poor] Here a second result of unbelief exhibits itself, in the form of tyrannical intolerance. For the oppression of the just, cp. Hab. i. 4; and of the poor, cp. Zech. vii. 10; Ezek. xviii. 12; St James ii. 6. We may see in these verses a reference to wealthy and apostate Jews, who persecuted their humbler fellow-countrymen who would not deny their faith. There is no doubt that both in Egypt and in Palestine, apostasy for interested reasons was not uncommon: Philo's nephew was among those who attained to high position as the reward of embracing Paganism, and became procurator of Judaea, cp. Philo, *Conf. l.* § 23 "Let us make laws to banish righteousness, that cause of poverty and disgrace."

the widow] Cp. Is. x. 2; Mal. iii. 5. The widow, the orphan, and the poor were particularly exposed to injustice. Cp. Ps. x. 8, 9; Jer. xxii. 3.

11. *our strength*] i.e. let might be right.

of no service] The reason why strength should be the law: before it weakness is convicted (ἐλέγχεται) of being ineffective. It is futile, and deserves only to exist on sufferance: superior strength is needed to reduce it to its proper condition.

12. *lie in wait*] Cp. Ps. x. 8, 9 LXX. The source of this *l.* and the next is the LXX. of Is. iii. 10, with which it is identical except for *lie in wait* which replaces *bind.* This is a passage that indicates Greek as the original language of this book. Is. iii. 10 (Hebrew) is altogether different from LXX., and the agreement between the latter ("Let us bind the righteous man, for he is of disservice to us") and this passage points to a Greek source for the writer's quotations. Clem. Alex. (*Str.* v. 4) quoting this passage with reference to Christ has "let us remove."

of disservice] Positively baneful. A much stronger word than the negative cognate word in *v.* 11.

the law] Marg. *law.* Grimm points out that in Jewish writings *law* without the article stands always for the law of Moses, and urges that this *l.* proves that the enemies of the righteous man are apostate Jews.

And layeth to our charge sins against our discipline.
13 He professeth to have knowledge of God,
And nameth himself [1]servant of the Lord.
14 He became to us a reproof of our thoughts.
15 He is grievous unto us even to behold,

[1] Or, *child*

But the argument is not conclusive: there were many professing Jews who were disobedient to the law.

—*ἔζει ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα* occurs both in this and the next *l.* It is unlikely that this repetition is the work of the author, who had sufficient literary sense to vary his phrases with almost ostentatious care. Some early corruption probably lies hidden under these lines which repeat one another in sound and sense.

sins against our discipline] This tr. makes the best of a difficulty, although it is not clear that the Gk. verb can bear the sense here given to it (see Liddell and Scott). Cyprian, quoting this passage (*Testim.* ii. 14) omits this line altogether. Nothing is lost by its absence: besides, *sins against our discipline* is a very clumsy way of expressing the idea suggested.

13. *knowledge of God*] of His will and requirements, what He rewards and what He punishes (Deane). Contrast Gk. with 1 Cor. xv. 34 "to have no-knowledge (*ἀγνωσία*) of God." *professeth*, Vulg. *promittit*, cp. 1 Tim. vi. 21.

servant of the Lord] Marg. *child*, Vulg. *filium*. But text is probably right. *παῖς* and *υἱὸς* are interchangeable, cp. ch. ix. 4, 7, xii. 19, 20. But as *παῖς* is the regular LXX. rendering for "*servant* of the Lord" in Is. xli. 8, 9 and often, and as *vv.* 16, 18 deal with the sonship of the righteous man, *παῖς* here probably points to the less intimate relation.

If Wisdom is a protest on behalf of the persecuted Egyptian Jews, the *righteous man* and the *servant of the Lord* (as in Isaiah), might be a collective formula standing for the whole community. Some see here a definite reference to the sufferings of Christ. Some of the Fathers regard it as a prophecy: cp. Cyprian, *Testim.* ii. § 14; Augustine, *de Civ. Dei* 17, 20 § 1 "In one of these books, known as the Wisdom of Solomon, the Passion of Christ is most definitely prophesied. His wicked murderers are even represented as saying 'Let us lie in wait.'" There is, no doubt, an extraordinary resemblance to the charges brought against Christ; and this has led some to treat the passage as a Christian interpolation, and others to argue that the whole book was the work of a Christian. But the truth seems to be that the picture is ideal, and that there will be a likeness between the charges levelled in all ages against men of God by men of evil life.

14. *a reproof of our thoughts*] Cp. St John vii. 7, and Ep. to Diognetus vi. 4 "The world hateth Christians, though it receiveth no wrong from them, because they set themselves against its pleasures."

15. *grievous unto us*] Cp. Prov. xxi. 15, xxix. 27 LXX.; Is. liii. 3.

Because his life is unlike other men's,
And his paths are of strange fashion.
We were accounted of him as base metal, 16
And he abstaineth from our ways as from uncleannesses.
The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy;
And he vaunteth that God is his father.
Let us see if his words be true, 17
And let us try what shall befall in the ending of his *life*.
For if the righteous man is God's son, he will uphold him, 18
And he will deliver him out of the hand of his adversaries.

Philo quotes Antisthenes (*Quod omn. lib.* § 5) "The sober man is intolerable."

unlike other] lit. *other men*. For the *comparatio compendiaria*, cp. ch. vii. 3.

of strange fashion] *mutatae* Cyprian. Gk. literally means *changed*, i.e. "abnormal" or "affected." The sense probably is *mad*. Cp. Dan. iv. 15 (ἀλλοιοῦν) and 1 Sam. xxi. 13. See also ch. v. 4, *madness*.

16. *as base metal*] A.V. counterfeits. For the Gk., cp. Is. i. 22 LXX. They are not hypocrites, for they make no pretences. The righteous man assays their metal, and refuses to pass it for the currency.

uncleannesses] Cp. Is. lii. 11.

the latter end] Vulg. *nouissima*. The righteous man's view of *the latter things* is unfolded in ch. iii. Cp. Numb. xxiii. 10.

But *the latter end* may belong to this life, and not to the next. Cp. Job xlii. 12 LXX., and James v. 11 (Mayor's note). The Book of Job has many points of contact with Wisdom, and Job's prosperous end may be before the writer's mind.

In favour of this, note that the enemies of the righteous man challenge a visible interposition by God in his defence, if indeed he is what he claims to be (*vv.* 17, 18). No divine judgment would convince them but one that operated on this side of the grave.

vaunteth that God is his father] Fervent prayers convey a sound of unwarranted presumption to undevout ears. Cp. Ecclus. xxiii. 1, 4; St John v. 18; and see W. C. Allen, note on St Matt. v. 16.

17. *if his words be true*] Cp. Jer. xx. 10 LXX.; St Matt. xxvii. 49.

ending of his life] Vulg. *quae uentura sunt illi*, i.e. the accompaniments of his end. They are no longer punishing the righteous man out of spite, but in order that God may have opportunity to vindicate his claim. They are bent now on experiment, not vengeance. There is a curious parallel in Jer. xviii. 18.

18. The likeness of this *v.* to St Matt. xxvii. 43 has led some to suspect a Christian interpolation here, but that *v.* is couched in O.T. language (Ps. xxii. 8 LXX.). For this *v.* cp. Is. xlii. 1 "Jacob, my servant, I will help him," LXX.; 3 Macc. vi. 11. This line of argument on the part of the oppressors (if..., he will uphold him) points to an interpretation of *latter end v.* 16 in terms of earthly life.

19 With outrage and torture let us put him to the test,
That we may learn his gentleness,
And may prove his patience under wrong.
20 Let us condemn him to a shameful death;
For [1]he shall be visited according to his words.

21 Thus reasoned they, and they were led astray;

[1] Gr. *there shall be a visitation of him out of his words.*

19. *with outrage and torture*] With a certain subtle cynicism the writer delineates the change in the motives of the oppressors from vindictive spite to a considerate anxiety that their victim should have opportunity to draw succour from heaven and exercise his own noblest qualities. They offer him *outrage* that he may respond with *gentleness*, and by *torture* they hope to elicit *patience*.

put to the test] a somewhat euphemistic expression, cp. Acts xxii. 24.

learn his gentleness] Perhaps the source of St Paul's injunction, Phil. iv. 5. The Gk. word (Vulg. *reuerentia*) means self-restraint in relation to others. In 2 Cor. x. 1 it is used in conjunction with "meekness," of our Lord.

may prove] Text rightly adopts reading of ℵA δοκιμάσωμεν. Vulg. *probemus*.

For *patience under* [physical] *wrong*, cp. 2 Tim. ii. 24 and Epict. *Ench.* § 10 "If insult be offered you, you will find patience a defence against it."

20. *a shameful death*] Cp. James v. 6. It has been suggested that Hegesippus had this passage in mind when he wrote the account of the death of James the Just (Eus. *H. E.* ii. 23). But there the just man is the victim of a sudden outburst of fanaticism. Further, Hegesippus takes direct from Isaiah the passage which is found here (*v.* 12), as he quotes the second half of the *v.* which does not appear in Wisdom. For the just man's shameful death, cp. the famous passage in Plato, *Rep.* ii. 5.

shall be visited] by God. This is made quite clear by *v.* 18. God is so close to him, he affirms, that He will protect him (cp. Ps. cix. 31), and therefore his oppressors need feel no compunction. For ἐπισκοπή, cp. Job x. 12 LXX.

shall be visited may also be interpreted in a bad sense, and marg. allows for this, cp. ch. xiv. 11. "Let us condemn him, and he shall be punished for his prating," cp. Gen. xxxvii. 20. But Gk. (lit. *out of his words*) is best rendered as in text.

COMPARISON I. (*a*, CONT.) *vv.* **21—24.** THE MATERIALIST—HIS BLINDNESS AND SPIRITUAL DEADNESS.

21. *reasoned they, and*] Cp. Jer. xviii. 18. Text suggests that the being led astray was consequent upon their false reasoning. Rather,

For their [1]wickedness blinded them,
And they knew not the mysteries of God, 22
Neither hoped they for wages of holiness,
Nor did they judge *that there is* a prize for blameless souls.
Because God created man for incorruption, 23

[1] Or, *malice*

the verbs express simultaneous action "thus reasoned they in their error." Their false reasoning was the outcome of their evil deeds. They were not wicked because they were blind; they were blind because they were wicked. Cp. ch. v. 6.

blinded them] Through evil living they had lost the eye for spiritual things, cp. Is. lvi. 10. They could not conceive of a fellowship between God and man which could overleap death. This *v.* presents one of the leading ideas of Wisdom: the wicked are their own punishment, and are burdened with the reaction of their own misdoings, cp. ch. xvi. 1, xvii. 21, xviii. 4.

Farrar quotes :—

> "For when we in our viciousness grow hard,
> Oh! misery on't! the wise gods seal our eyes,
> In our own filth drop our clear judgments, make us
> Adore our errors, laugh at us, while we strut
> To our confusion."

22. *mysteries of God*] Cp. ch. vi. 22 "The mysteries of Wisdom." What are God's mysteries? The truths which can be revealed to those alone who have the mind of God, and which bear upon God's prospective dealings with the righteous, cp. ch. iv. 17. The subjects of this revelation are God's triumph over the devil and death, and His inflexible pursuit of the great purpose of Creation, viz. life. God destined man for immortality, but seeing that many have chosen death, immortality has become the reward of sanctity, and the prize of blameless souls (cp. Bois, p. 297).

wages of holiness] Described in ch. iii. ὁσιότης leads some writers to see here a reference to the Hasidaeans, a religious body in Palestine, which took its name from Chasîdîm, the pious (ὅσιοι). This body is referred to in 1 Macc. ii. 42; vii. 13. But an allusion to them in a strictly Alexandrian work is improbable.

23. *for incorruption*] Vulg. *inexterminabilem.* "Incorruption" is primarily neither the life present nor the life to come, but that elevated life of the spirit for which man was created. It is the reward and the result of obedience to Wisdom. But inasmuch as wicked men have brought physical death into God's world, and have made it impossible for the righteous to live out the life of the spirit therein, death ushers the latter into a blissful immortality for which all were created, but which is now the reward for the faithful servants of God. See Introd. § 13.

And made him an image of his own [1]proper being;
24 But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world,

[1] Some authorities read *everlastingness.*

an image of his own proper being] The awkwardness of τῆς ἰδίας ἰδιότητος has caused suspicion to fall on this line, although ℵAB and Clem. Alex. *Str.* vi. 12 agree. They are unobjectionable on the ground of sense, being a variation of Gen. i. 26. On the other hand Cod. 248, Methodius, Epiphanius, and Athanasius, read ἀιδιότητος, *everlastingness*, which though not theologically more true is more pleasing to the ear, and defines the particular point of likeness that the author wishes to impress, viz. immortality. Cp. Philo, *Opif.* § 13 "God gave them a share in His *everlastingness*"; *Dec.* § 25.

It is impossible to decide finally between the two readings; if it were not however for the strong MS. authority behind ἰδιότητος there would be little room for hesitation. It evidently was suspected early, as Syr. and Vulg. *similitudinis* presuppose a gloss ὁμοιότητος.

24. *But by the envy of the devil*] Quoted in Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* iii., in illustration of the havock wrought by envy. This passage is there clearly interpreted of the murder of Abel by Cain: the words immediately succeeding the quotation are "For thus it is written," followed by Gen. iv. 3—8, and the excerpt is summarized in the words "Ye see, jealousy and envy wrought a brother's murder." This, the earliest known interpretation of the words, is preferable to that which interprets them of the serpent in the garden. (For the latter, see Jos. *Ant.* I. i. 4.) Death, as a physical fact, entered into the world (according to Genesis) not with Eve, but with Cain, who was the first to take human life. It is true that Ecclus. xxv. 24 has "From a woman was the beginning of sin; and because of her we all die." But she was only the ultimate and indirect cause of the first physical death, however responsible she may have been for the entrance of spiritual death.

Further, the murder of Abel by Cain was unquestionably prompted by jealousy, the same motive which was at work in those who condemned and slew the righteous man (12—20). It is their action that is traced to its source in this line, which would be pointless if referring to Gen. iii.

This view is supported by 1 John iii. 12, which connects the act of Cain with the prompting of Satan, a connection not definitely made elsewhere in Scripture than in these two passages (and probably St John viii. 44), which would thus seem to have a more than accidental mutual dependence. Theophilus (*ad Autol.* ii. 29) takes the same view in a passage based on this: "Satan, being very jealous, when he saw that Abel pleased God, worked in Cain his brother and caused him to kill Abel, and thus the beginning of death came into this world."

Again, the identification of the serpent with the devil is not known to Alexandrian literature of this date. Philo writing a century later throws out no hint of it, nor does he treat the serpent as a type of jealousy. In *Opif.* § 56 he handles the subject in his usual allegorizing

And they that are of his portion make trial thereof.
But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, 3

manner, but the serpent is for him a type of pleasure, because it goes on its belly, eats dust, and has a poisonous bite. It is important to observe that the author in ch. x. 1—4 makes the sin of Adam of small importance, while Cain is the first "unrighteous man," the ancestor and symbol of all who afterwards deserted Wisdom. *v.* 24 then is a return to first principles. The tragedy of Cain and Abel is being reenacted in every age: Cain inflicts physical death and chooses for himself spiritual death, while Abel is the type of the just who suffer in the body, but are heirs of immortality.

envy of the devil] διάβολος is the regular LXX. rendering of the Hebr. *Satan*. Both words originally mean *enemy* with no metaphysical sense, cp. Ps. cix. 6; 1 Macc. i. 36 (for διάβ. see Hatch, *Bibl. Greek*, 1889, pp. 46, 7). *Satan* is used as a proper name only five times in O.T., Job i. 6, 12, ii. 1; 1 Chr. xxi. 1; Zech. iii. 1; and in each case LXX. renders διάβολος (but cp. Ecclus. xxi. 27 σατανᾶ).

"The name and conception of Satan belong to the post-exilic age of Hebrew development" (Whitehouse, Art. *Satan* in Hastings, *D. B.* iv.). For the Palestinian Jews, with their strong sense of the supremacy of God, sin and misfortune, and even the work of Satan and evil spirits, could not be viewed as being outside the Divine causality. Satan is regarded in O.T. as a subordinate agent of God, although not reflecting the mind of God (see Whitehouse, *loc. cit.*).

This conception did not satisfy the Alexandrian mind. If on the one hand God could not be supreme without being the ultimate cause of evil, on the other hand the transcendence of God seemed violated if He were conceived of as having any part in evil. Hence in Wisd. ii. 24 the devil is made the sole author of physical death, which according to ch. i. 12—14 is neither God's creation nor according to the will of God. Death and its agents are intruders.

death entered] i.e. physical death, the death inflicted upon Abel. *Death* points back to *v.* 20 as well as to Gen. iv. 8, but there is a side-reference to King Hades (i. 14, 16), the intruder into the world of men designated for immortality.

entered into the world] Cp. Rom. v. 12. To be understood literally, of death entering from without.

make trial thereof] "They that are of (the devil's) portion," like Cain who "was of that wicked one" (1 John iii. 12), are goaded by their envy to kill the righteous man.

COMPARISON I. (*b*) CH. III. 1—9. THE HOPE OF THE RIGHTEOUS. IMMORTALITY IS NOW THE PREROGATIVE OF THE RIGHTEOUS ONLY.

The writer does not teach a resurrection of the body, only an immortality of the soul. But whether he has pious Gentiles in view, or Israelites exclusively, it is impossible to say. There is a

And no torment shall touch them.

resemblance between this section and Enoch cii., ciii. (ed. Charles). "Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous, and be hopeful ye that die in righteousness. And grieve not if your soul descends in grief into Sheol, and that in your life your body has not fared as your goodness deserved, but truly as on a day on which ye became like the sinners, and on a day of cursing and chastisement. And when ye die the sinners speak over you; 'As we die, so die the righteous, and what benefit do they reap from their deeds? Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness, and what advantage have they over us? from henceforth we are equal.'...I swear to you, the righteous,...that all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them and are written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness, and that manifold good will be given to you in recompense for your labours.... And your spirits, (the spirits) of you who die in righteousness, will live...and their spirits will not perish, but their memorial will be...unto all generations: wherefore then fear not their contumely." The main difference between the Alexandrine doctrine in Wisdom and the Palestinian doctrine of the Book of Enoch is the absence of circumstantial detail in Wisdom, which is the natural outcome of a view wholly spiritual. Spiritual conceptions need only a soul as their theatre; an external judgment requires that time, place, actors, and surroundings be definitely and vividly drawn.

iii. 1. *the souls of the righteous*] Freed from the body, the soul is delivered from the pains that are inevitable in a material world. Cp. Philo, *Jos.* § 43 "There is not one good man, but shall live hereafter ageless and deathless, with a soul constrained no longer by the fetters of the body"; and *Moses* iii. 39. The Alexandrine doctrine falls short of the Christian doctrine of the immortality of the whole man.

in the hand of God] Under His protection. For the use of *hand*, cp. Ps. lxxxviii. 5; Is. li. 16; St John x. 28. Contrast Hos. xiii. 14, marg. This line furnished mediaeval art with one of its most striking symbols.

And no torment shall touch them] Such as had touched their bodies, ch. ii. 19. The introduction of torment here means nothing more than this. It is more natural to regard the contrast as between the bliss of the future life and the anguish of the earthly life, than as between future bliss and future anguish (cp. ch. iv. 19). The latter contrast might be called for if the writer was addressing an audience accustomed to all the developments of the N.T. doctrine as elaborated in later ages. The idea is very different from that in Is. lxvi. 24, where the indignities inflicted on unburied corpses are in view. *Shall not touch* occurs in Job v. 19 in a similar sense. Cp. ch. xviii. 20 marg.

them] The righteous, or their souls? Probably the latter, as the emphasis is on the advantage possessed by the soul over the body. For although this section deals mainly with the future life, *v.* 1 stands at a transition point, and might refer to earthly life.

In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died; 2
And their departure was accounted *to be their* hurt,
And their journeying away from us *to be their* ruin: 3
But they are in peace.
For even if in the sight of men they be punished, 4

2. *In the eyes of the foolish*] i.e. the morally foolish who by their vicious life have forfeited the capacity for spiritual judgment. They can judge only by the eye.

they seemed to have died] *Seemed...was accounted...*(4) *in the sight of men.* The writer emphasizes the paradox that in truth the visible is only that which seems. The sensual man thinks that he touches reality when he takes his stand on the visible, but he is the sport of shadows. Cp. Philo, *Fuga* § 10 "Enquiry taught me that some living men are dead and some dead men are alive: the wicked who live to be old men are mere corpses devoid of the life of virtue, but the good, though they are parted from the body, live for ever, enjoying an immortal destiny." Cp. ibid. *Det. pot.* § 14 and Ep. to Diognetus x. (tr. Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*) "the true life which is in heaven—the apparent death which is here on earth—the real death reserved for those that shall be condemned."

their departure...their *hurt*] *Hurt* (κάκωσις) indicates a process, while *departure* means not merely death, but manner of dying, cp. ch. ii. 17. *Departure*, the quitting of life, is contrasted with *journeying* (*v.* 3), the loss of the familiar human surroundings. For *departure* (ἔξοδος), cp. St Luke ix. 31.

3. *And their journeying*] Cp. Eccl. xii. 5; St Luke xxii. 22.

in peace] Cp. Is. lvii. 2. This may mean nothing more than is intended in Isaiah, or in Job iii. 17, 18, where *peace* is purely negative, implying rest from toil, and freedom from harassing care. There may even be an unconscious identification of the self with the body instead of with the soul, through a reminiscence of Ecclus. xliv. 14 "Their bodies were buried in peace, and their name liveth to all generations." But if the reference is to the *souls* of the upright, their peace lies in their confident hope, *v.* 4.

4. *vv.* 4—10 have something of the character of Apocalyptic, the object of which was "to solve the difficulties connected with the righteousness of God and the suffering condition of His righteous servants upon earth." (Charles, *Enoch*, p. 22.)

Apocalyptic was the refuge of those who found that the traditional view of God's dealings with His people was unsatisfying. Earthly life did not provide a full opportunity for justice and vengeance. It is not to be wondered at that the inevitable rebound from a conception of life limited to the earthly lives of a man and his descendants, to one in which physical death was merely an incident, was accompanied by wildly exaggerated promises and hopes. This passage exhibits unusual reticence. It dismisses in one line the old view that suffering was an indication of God's wrath and punishment. It is only "in the sight of

Their hope is full of immortality;
5 And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good;
Because God made trial of them, and found them worthy of himself.
6 As gold in the furnace he proved them,
And as a whole burnt offering he accepted them.

men" that the righteous are forsaken: what looks like punishment is education.

Their hope] Not only when their bodies are in the grave, but even during their earthly sufferings.

full of immortality] The succeeding *vv.* make it plain that this is a personal life, and not a subjective resurrection in the memory of descendants, cp. ch. iv. 1. Such an objective hope is found in 2 Macc. vii. 9; cp. Philo, *fuga* § 11 "This is the truest immortal life, to be consumed with love and friendship for God, free from the flesh and from the body." The word "immortality" (ἀθανασία) appears several times in Wisdom, but in no other book of the Greek O.T. St Paul uses it three times.

5. *chastening...good*] The thought recurs frequently, cp. Ps. cxix. 75; Prov. iii. 11, 12; Rom. viii. 18; Heb. xii. 5—12; James i. 12.

God made trial of them] The Gk. word is used in the simple sense of testing, cp. Ps. xxvi. 2. The idea of education through testing can never be entirely absent, but in this line the thought is concentrated upon the examination, while in the preceding line the preparation for it is emphasized.

and found them] God's verdict. Again, God is viewed as testing the righteous and passing judgment upon them, rather than training them.

worthy] Cp. ch. vi. 16 "Wisdom goeth about seeking them that are worthy of her." The idea suggested is of affinity rather than of positive merit. Those who are worthy to be of the portion of Hades make terms with him (i. 16), while God finds out those who belong to Himself. This predetermined bias is one of the mysteries of the moral world.

6. *As gold in the furnace*] Here again the thought is centred upon the testing, and not the preparation to meet the test. The test (δοκίμιον) is applied to see if they are genuine (δόκιμοι): if they are not, they are rejected (ἀδόκιμοι). Cp. 2 Cor. xiii. 5; James i. 12. God proves that they are not base metal, like the persecutors in ch. ii. 16. Mal. iii. 3 contains the metaphor of purifying the sons of Levi in the furnace, that their offering may be acceptable.

as a whole burnt offering] The Gk. word (ὁλοκάρπωμα) has lost entirely its etymological connection with fruits of the earth. It, and its kindred word, are used of flesh offerings, cp. Is. xliii. 23. With the sacrificial idea, cp. 2 Tim. iv. 6.

And in the time of their visitation they shall shine forth, 7
And as sparks among stubble they shall run to and fro.
They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples; 8
And the Lord shall reign over them for evermore.
They that trust on him shall understand truth, 9

7. *in the time*] Vulg. *in tempore erit respectus illorum. Fulgebunt iusti.* The break seems to have been made deliberately, with the view of emphasizing both *visitation* and *shine. Visitation* in a good sense here, cp. *v.* 13, and ch. iv. 15. The impression that the writer wishes to convey is intentionally vague and indeterminate. He is not elaborating any systematized eschatological scheme such as appears in the Book of Enoch: the time and place of the fulfilment of his prophecies, whether he looks for a golden age on earth, or for purely spiritual joys hereafter, are left to the reader's imagination. (Introd. § 14.)

shine forth] Cp. Dan. xii. 3; St Matt. xiii. 43. For Gk., cp. Is. xlii. 4 LXX.

sparks among stubble] The effective vitality of the disembodied spirits of the just is suggested: brightness, swiftness, victorious power are theirs. The comparison with fire suggests not vengeance, but over-mastering energy; while the reversal of the relative positions of the righteous one and his many oppressors is indicated by the terrible power of a few sparks to consume a store of straw. Philo, *migr.* § 21, writes "Even the smallest spark,...kindles a vast conflagration: similarly the smallest fragment of virtue, when it has been nourished on good hopes and has been made to shine forth (ἀναλάμψῃ), gives sight to the blind, and causes the dry stock to flourish again. The tiny good, directed by the Divine counsel, becomes great, assimilating other things to itself." *Sparks* and *stubble* appear together in Is. i. 31 LXX., from which the simile is probably drawn. Cp. Jer. v. 14; Zech. xii. 6; Mal. iv. 1.

8. *They shall judge nations*] *To judge* is to govern: kingship, not vengeance, is the prospect held out by the verse. Cp. Prov. xxix. 9 LXX.; Ecclus. iv. 15.

the Lord shall reign over them for evermore] Except for the added *them*, a verbatim transcript from Ps. x. 16 LXX.

9. *They that trust on him*] Cp. Prov. xxviii. 5 LXX. "they that seek the Lord shall have understanding in everything" and St John vii. 17. Spiritual perception is closely associated with moral character and conduct, cp. Ps. cxi. 10. Contrast with this ch. i. 3. See Dr Pusey in (*Life of*) *Frederick Temple*, Vol. ii. p. 443, "The true way to study Divinity would be...to add to your duties a life of prayer and practical holiness."

But *the truth* here is more than intellectual truth. It may even be synonymous with Wisdom, and would certainly include some mystical knowledge of the God of truth. The understanding of truth suggests a heightening of the inmost moral faculties corresponding to the outward authority to be exercised hereafter by the just (*v.* 8).

And [1]the faithful shall abide with him in love;
Because grace and mercy are to his chosen.

10 But the ungodly shall be requited even as they reasoned,
They which lightly regarded [2]the righteous *man*, and revolted from the Lord;
11 (For he that setteth at nought wisdom and discipline is miserable;)

[1] Or, *they that are faithful through love shall abide with him*
[2] Or, *that which is righteous*

abide with him in love] i.e. shall be loved by God. The force of *in love* is passive. The best, though not a complete parallel to this use is in St John xv. 9, which means "Continue to be loved by Me," and 10 "I continue to be loved by Him." The faithful shall attain to fuller perception, and shall be conscious of the Divine love embracing them.

Because grace and mercy] This *l.* is the same as ch. iv. 15. ℵAV add here the second half of that *v.*, but the words are not found in B or Vulg. They are doubtless an early interpolation. For *grace and mercy* (Vulg. *donum et pax*), cp. the salutations in the two Epistles to Timothy. *Grace* signifies the pleasure God takes in the just, and the bestowal of His gifts upon them: *mercy*, His consideration towards their frailty, and His pity for their sufferings.

Comparison II. (*a*) Ch. III. 10—Ch. IV. 6.

This section stands over against ch. iv. 7—14, in which the happier lot of the righteous is set forth. Length of days and numerous posterity, although possessed abundantly by the ungodly, are blessings certain to be succeeded by an unhonoured age and a degenerate seed.

10. *requited even as they reasoned*] No arbitrary penalty: they receive what belongs to them. Cp. Prov. i. 31 "the fruit of their own way"; Ps. cix. 17–19; Job xxxiv. 11, for self-determined punishment. For Gk. (ἐπιτιμίαν), cp. 2 Cor. ii. 6. *as they reasoned*, cp. ch. ii. 1.

lightly regarded] Contempt led to contumely. Not only did they stop their ears to his crying, but they heaped indignities upon him.

the righteous man] Vulg. *iustum*, Aug. *iustitiam*. Cp. St Luke xii. 57; Col. iv. 1; Job xxxiv. 10. Text is preferable, although the adj. (τοῦ δ.) may be taken as masc. or neut. (marg.). The righteous man has been the leading thought of ch. ii., to which this verse recalls attention. Further, to make light of the righteous *man* is a more serious charge to lay against the ungodly than to neglect abstract righteousness. Again, it is more reasonable to couple the sin against God with sin against man (cp. St Luke xviii. 4) than with neglect of the moral law.

revolted] Cp. ch. x. 3. Here not of apostasy from Judaism so much as of the moral apostasy of sensuality, cp. ii. 10.

11. *setteth at nought*] This *l.* is an adaptation of Prov. i. 7.

And void is their hope and their toils unprofitable,
And useless are their works:
Their wives are foolish, and wicked are their children; 12
Accursed is their begetting. 13
Because happy is the barren that is undefiled,

Wisdom is the quality of practical righteousness, *discipline* the path by which it is attained. The reasonings of the ungodly were a virtual repudiation of both. The personified Wisdom is called *a spirit of discipline* in ch. i. 5, but the meaning of the words here is determined by the quotation from Proverbs.

miserable] In a moral sense, in spite of outward circumstances. Used again in ch. xiii. 10, in connection with false hopes.

their hope] The prec. clause is rightly treated as a parenthesis, so that *their* refers directly to "those who revolted." *hope*, either absolutely in the conventional sense of "hope of posterity," or else the first term in a series *hope*, *toils*, *works*, which declares the futility of the wicked in respect of projects, labours, and results.

12. *foolish*] Vulg. *insensatae*. Probably as A.V. marg. "unchaste." Gk. bears its usual moral significance, cp. 2 Sam. xiii. 12, 13; Prov. v. 5 "The feet of foolishness," LXX. For the type, cp. Ecclus. xxiii. 26.

their children] In his effort to be logical, the writer embarks on a perilous generalisation. Hereditary taint is an undoubted fact, but not so its universality. Every new birth has the potentiality of a new beginning. If Ezekiel quotes in xvi. 44 the proverb "as is the mother, so is the daughter," in xviii. 1—18 he protests vehemently against any inflexible law of heredity. Ecclus. xvi. 1—4 is wiser, and argues that children *per se* are not a blessing: all depends on their character.

13. *Accursed*] Cp. Ecclus. xli. 5 "The children of sinners are abominable," and Philo, *Post. Cain* § 51 of the daughters of Lot "Cursed shall be their child-bearing." For the converse of this, cp. Is. lxv. 23 LXX. "They shall not labour in vain (*v.* 11), nor bear children for cursing; for they are a seed blessed by God, and their offspring with them." Modern teaching emphasizes environment as against heredity. Though it is true to speak of a "bad stock," bad upbringing is a still more powerful factor.

Because] The argument is, Cursed is their sinful begetting, because blessing belongs to the sinless barren: "more are the (spiritual) children of the desolate than the children of the married wife." But the late Pss. cxxvii., cxxviii. show that the spiritual teaching of Is. liv. 4 and lvi. 1 did not command universal acceptance.

the barren] To the Hebrew mind, childlessness was a reproach to a woman (Gen. xxx. 23; Is. iv. 1; St Luke i. 25). Some editors have seen in this and the next *v.* a praise of asceticism as practised by the Therapeutae, based on the theory of the evil of the body. But if celibacy were in itself desirable, there would be no occasion to emphasize the compensations God offers. Further, στεῖρα does not mean "an un-

She who hath not conceived in transgression;
She shall have fruit when *God* visiteth souls.
14 And *happy is* the eunuch which hath wrought no lawless
deed with his hands,
Nor imagined wicked things against the Lord;

married woman": see St Luke i. 6, 7. The gist of the passage is that sterility, if pure, is redeemed by a spiritual fertility. This *v.* and the next are based on Is. liv. 1 and lvi. 4, which teach that parentage is not to be treated as the criterion of human well-being. Such criterion must be spiritual: "no list of *circumstances* can make a Paradise."

undefiled] The word is defined by the succeeding clause "she who hath not conceived in transgression." She is contrasted with the false wife in Ecclus. xxiii. 22. The thought is not the same as in Ps. li. 5. There the infection of all human nature with sin is thought of, here an act of unfaithfulness, which might take away the reproach of barrenness at the cost of a secret and worse reproach.

fruit] The issue of a righteous life is *fruit*, a product enjoying vitality; that of an ungodly life is "unserviceable *works*." The contrast is (perhaps unintentionally) the same as in Eph. v. 9—11 between the "*fruit* of light" and the "unfruitful *works* of darkness."

when God *visiteth souls*] No very clear conception probably existed in the writer's mind as to when and where there should be visitation. Cp. Job xxxiv. 9 LXX. "Say not, there shall not be visitation of a man: he shall have visitation from the Lord." Cp. 1 Sam. ii. 21; as there was an earthly visitation of the childless Hannah, so there shall be a spiritual visitation of those who preferred childlessness to sin. The *visitation* may take place here or hereafter: it is a visitation of the soul, the material aspects of which an Alexandrian writer was content to ignore. See ch. iii. 7.

14. *And* happy is *the eunuch*] This is drawn from Is. lvi. 4, 5. The eunuch was doubly unfortunate: he could leave no descendants, and so his memory died with himself; and under the old covenant he was not allowed within the congregation (Dt. xxiii. 1).

There is no advocacy here of voluntary celibacy (cp. Philo, *de Uita Contempl.* § 8); the words refer to those who from natural causes find themselves childless. Such men, if blameless in deed and thought (cp. *v.* 13, *undefiled*), shall receive inner consolation.

which hath wrought no lawless deed] Physical infirmity is not, in itself, a pledge of future Divine visitation: it must be accompanied by clean hands, and a loyal heart. This qualification is very necessary, since even under the Christian dispensation, it is often mistakenly thought that poverty of circumstances e.g. is pronounced to be *per se* blessed, and furnishes a claim upon material compensation hereafter. But the soul that makes material poverty an excuse for spiritual poverty is as far from the Kingdom of Heaven as they that trust in riches. Philo, *det. pot.* § 48 writes "It is better to become an eunuch than to indulge in lawless unions."

For there shall be given him for his faithfulness [1]a peculiar favour,
And a lot in the sanctuary of the Lord more delightsome *than wife or children.*
For good labours have fruit of great renown; 15
And the root of understanding cannot fail.
But children of adulterers shall not come to maturity, 16

[1] Or, *the grace of* God's *chosen* Gr. *a chosen grace.*

given him for his faithfulness a peculiar favour] Much better than A.V. *special gift of faith.* πίστεως is no doubt unusual, perhaps gen. of price. The idea of acquiring merit with God was very familiar to the Jews: cp. ch. vii. 14; Philo, *Abr.* § 46 "Loving the man for his faith in Him, God gives him faith in return"; and id. *Post C.* § 43, a passage which it is difficult not to connect with St John i. 16 "grace for grace."

a lot in the sanctuary] Cp. Is. lvi. 5. To be interpreted in a spiritual sense, cp. Ecclus. xlv. 22 "[Aaron] hath no portion among the people: for [God] is thy portion and inheritance." Physical exclusion from the congregation may even stimulate the pure soul to thirst after God Himself, cp. Ps. lxxxiv. 5 R.V.

than wife or children] The added words are supplied by analogy with Is. lvi. 5. Gk. for *delightsome* (θυμήρης) is poetical, and not found elsewhere in the Gk. Bible.

15. *have fruit*] *Fruit*, cp. *v.* 13.

of great renown] The thought of a subjective immortality cannot be quite dismissed by the Jewish mind. It is not enough that his soul should survive; his name and memory must obtain recognition. The genitive in this line is objective, "the fruit which good labours *have*": in the next line it is subjective, "the root which understanding *is*."

root of understanding] Subj. gen., with a different sense from *root of wisdom* in Ecclus. i. 6, where the gen. is objective. *Understanding* is merely a poetical variation for the abstract quality of wisdom. For the *root*, as an indication of permanence, cp. Prov. xii. 3, 12; and contrast with Is. v. 24 "Their root shall be as rottenness."

16. *children of adulterers*] The writer has *v.* 13 in his mind, and singles out adultery as a typical sin, so that *adulterers* is almost identical with "sinners." The expression recalls Is. lvii. 3—5: "adultery" is often used metaphorically to express the unfaithfulness which leaves God for the attractions of sin.

shall not come to maturity] For the writer's wholesale condemnation, cp. the malignant expressions in Jer. xviii. 21, 22. ατέλεστα (Vulg. *inconsummati*) must not be translated in its secondary classical sense of "uninitiated," as suggested by margin of A.V. "[shall not] be partakers of holy things." Such a rendering would be in this connection superficial, and to support it by Dt. xxiii. 2 would be to confuse local rules with universal principles. The writer may have the Mosaic rule in his mind, but he is not reaffirming it.

And the seed of an unlawful bed shall vanish away.
17 For if they live long, they shall be held in no account,
And at the last their old age shall be without honour.
18 And if they die quickly, they [1]shall have no hope,
Nor in the day of decision *shall they have* consolation.
19 For [2]the end of an unrighteous generation is alway grievous.

[1] Some authorities read *have*. [2] Gr. *the ends...are grievous*.

Text renders rightly *immature*, i.e. they shall die before reproducing themselves. Unlike the godly, their life is limited to this world; therefore the judgment upon them is in terms of time and not of eternity.

seed of an unlawful bed] Cp. Is. lvii. 4 "a lawless seed" LXX.; and Ecclus. xxiii. 24—26 "The children (of the unfaithful wife) shall not spread into roots, and her branches shall bear no fruit. She shall leave her memory for a curse."

vanish away] Cp. Bathsheba's child, 2 Sam. xii. 14.. The judgment upon the ungodly belongs to the writer's wish rather than to experience. The tone is that of Pss. xxxvii., lxix. and cix., a retrogression from the teaching of Ezek. xviii. 14—20.

17. *if they live long*] Lit. *be long-lived* (μακρόβιοι). The adj. (masc.) refers by a sense construction to *children* and *seed* (neut.) in *v.* 16. *They*, i.e. the children of adulterers, who shall die, either early and without hope, or in old age and without honour.

at the last] Old age, usually reckoned an honour, shall in their case be held in contempt. This lot will befall them in this world, a long life in which is their desire, cp. Is. lxv. 20.

18. *quickly*] Vulg. *celerius*, either *early*, or *suddenly*. For Gk., cp. ch. xvi. 11; Is. viii. 3 LXX.

shall have no hope] Text follows ℵA, which in view of next *l.* is probably right: but if this *l.* stood alone, the reading of B *they have* would be preferable. The meaning is, "If they die early, they have no hope," hope i.e. of posterity. They are immature; their early death precludes the possibility. Such is the earthly lot (side by side with that of those who grow old only to find dishonour) of the children of the ungodly who die young.

day of decision] For *day* as judgment-day, cp. 1 Cor. iv. 3. Gk. for *decision* (διάγνωσις) is not used elsewhere in Greek O.T., and once only in N.T., Acts xxv. 21, where it refers to the decision of the Roman Emperor. Here it is used of the day of visitation of the righteous, cp. v. 15—22, when the ungodly shall be winnowed with the storm. Gk. word for *consolation* (παραμύθιον) is found in Phil. ii. 1; for the sense, cp. St Luke vi. 24.

19. *For the end*] Marg. renders the Gk. better than text, *The ends... are grievous*. Gk. word (τέλη) means more than "conclusion"; it denotes finality, and includes the idea of completion. τέλη points back to ἀτέλεστα *v.* 16, and suggests the paradox "their consummation which is

Better *than this* is childlessness with virtue; 4
For in the memory [1]of virtue is immortality:

[1] Gr. *of it.*

no consummation." Every life-history may be conceived as leading up to a certain fulfilment: the death of the wicked is grievous, because they can say "It is ended," but not "It is finished." This *v.* is expanded in ch. iv. 1—6.

iv. 1. *childlessness with virtue*] such as is spoken of in iii. 13, 14. *Virtue* may mean general excellence, including manliness, cp. 2 Macc. vi. 31. But it probably is only a variation for "wisdom," cp. Philo, *Cong.* § 3, where they are convertible terms. Vulg. has by its translation, *O quam pulcra est casta generatio cum claritate*, turned these words into a praise of celibacy, and Philo, *de Uit. Cont.* § 8 has been adduced in support. But the version in Cypr. *de Sing. Cler.* § 40 "melius est esse sine filiis" gives the true rendering, showing that childlessness from natural or accidental causes is intended, cp. Epict. iii. 22 "Were the Thebans more advantaged by all their citizens who left children, than by Epaminondas who died childless (ἄτεκνος)? Did Priam with his fifty scourges of sons, or Danaus, or Aeolus, contribute more to the public good than Homer? Will a man refuse family life and the hope of children for military service, and allow himself to be turned from his childlessness by no hope of advantage or pleasure, and shall not Diogenes the Cynic be equally applauded?" Cp. Ecclus. xvi. 4.

in the memory of virtue is immortality] i.e. of childless virtue. This is the characteristic earlier Jewish conception of immortality, which, side by side with the desire for physical immortalisation through an unbroken line of descendants, preceded hopes which sprang up as individualism developed. The Jew of O.T. was a part of a whole: his conception of life hardly allowed him to ask, "What will become of me?" A subjective immortality (such as in Ps. cxii. 6) was what he had been taught to desire. It is strange how this doctrine has again come to the front, with the revival of the corporate consciousness through the teachings of Comte; cp. the lines of his English disciple, George Eliot:—

"Oh may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence:...
.....So to live is heaven:
To make undying music in the world,
.....This is life to come
Which martyred men have made more glorious
For us who strive to follow. May I reach
That purest heaven."

So too, Campbell:—

"And is he dead, whose glorious mind
Raised thine on high?
To live in hearts we leave behind
Is not to die."

Because it is recognised both before God and before men.
2 When it is present, *men* imitate it;
And they long after it when it is departed:
And [1]throughout all time it marcheth crowned in triumph,
Victorious in the strife for the prizes that are undefiled.

[1] Gr. *in the age.*

recognised both before God and before men] Cp. Ps. i. 6 "The Lord *knoweth* the way of the righteous," and note in this series, "Divine knowledge cannot be abstract or ineffectual. It involves approval, care, guidance." Cp. 1 Cor. viii. 3. Although here recognition is before men as well as God, this positive, effectual sense of "being known" by God is also present. To be "known" by God carries with it a measure of undyingness: a thing that has existed in the mind of God and has evoked His approval can never become as though it had not been. The argument is similar to that which our Lord used with the Sadducees, to prove the continued life of the patriarchs (cp. St Luke xx. 38). Forgetfulness, however, is possible to God, according to the old Jewish conception; see Ps. lxxxviii. 5. For *God and man*, cp. Prov. iii. 4; St Luke ii. 52; Rom. xiv. 18.

The two subjects of long life and posterity, and their inferiority to spiritual attainments, are dealt with in this passage very fully. The treatment would appeal to Greeks as well as Jews: posterity and long life appear in Zeno's system as good, though not so simply good as knowledge, Diog. Laert. vii. 58.

2. *When it is present*, men *imitate it*] This describes how virtue is recognised before men (see *v.* 1). Virtue reproduces itself, whether consciously as men set about to imitate it, or unconsciously as the inevitable law works itself out that men become like what they admire.

when it is departed] Grimm quotes Hor. *Od.* iii. 24, 31:—

"Uirtutem...sublatam ex oculis quaerimus inuidi."

throughout all time] See marg. But αἰὼν (cp. Vulg. *in perpetuum*) has no meaning apart from that of indefinite duration, which it possesses when used in this and similar phrases.

it marcheth] For the Gk. word, of a festival procession, cp. 2 Macc. vi. 7. The procession of Virtue is always along a Uia Sacra. Being immortal, she needs no slave to stand behind her in her progress and remind the conqueror that death must come (cp. Epict. iii. 24, 85). The conception is not Jewish, but Greek.

crowned] For the Greek crown of victory, cp. 4 Macc. xvii. 15; 1 Cor. ix. 25. The picture is very frequently found in Philo; στεφανηφορεῖν occurs in *Jos.* § 4, cp. *Quod Deus* § 29 "She is acclaimed as victor, and carries a palm in token of conquest."

Victorious in the strife] A common metaphor, cp. 1 Cor. ix. 25. Philo, *Somn.* ii. 21, speaks of the "conflict of life," cp. also *All.* ii. 26, and Epict. iii. 25 "The supreme conflict."

prizes...undefiled] ἆθλα, cp. 4 Macc. ix. 8 "the prizes of virtue,"

But the multiplying brood of the ungodly shall be of no 3
profit,
And [1]with bastard [2]slips they shall not strike deep root,
Nor shall they establish a sure hold.
For even if these [3]put forth boughs and flourish for a 4
season,
Yet, standing unsure, they shall be shaken by the wind,
And by the violence of winds they shall be rooted out.
Their branches shall be broken off before they come to 5
maturity,

[1] Gr. *from.* [2] Or, *offshoots* [3] Gr. *in boughs flourish.*

and xv. 29; Philo, *Migr.* § 6 "Thou hast proved thyself an invincible athlete: thou hast won rewards and crowns in the conflict ordered by virtue, who holds out to thee the prizes (ἄθλα) of victory."

undefiled] Philo, in writing of mundane rivalry, says it is a battle in which the (moral) victor seems the loser. "Be slow" he says "to enter upon it; if you can, run away; if you are compelled to stand and deliver, then make haste to be beaten: the winner is the loser, and the victors are the vanquished" (*Agric.* §§ 24, 25).

The prizes in the text are, of course, the moral prizes of enhanced capacity and purified life which are the reward of moral effort. If man is his own punishment, he is his own reward.

3. *shall be of no profit*] Cp. ch. iii. 12.

with bastard slips] Cp. ch. iii. 16. For the picture, cp. Philo, *Sobr.* § 8, where the process of planting is described. Vulg. renders μοσχεύματα, *uitulamina*, evidently connecting with μόσχος, *uitulus*, for which Augustine, *Doctr. Christ.* ii. 12 censures it (Grimm).

shall not strike deep root] Cp. Ecclus. xxiii. 25 "Her children shall not spread into roots," and Mal. iv. 1.

establish a sure hold] Cp. St Luke viii. 13, and contrast with Ecclus. xxiv. 12.

4. *put forth boughs*] The picture of the tree with all its development above ground resembles in its meaning two of the N.T. parables, the seed sown on stony ground (which, like the tree, had no root and endured for a season), and the fig-tree, which had leaves but no fruit. A false stock must develop falsely. Even though the large families of evildoers deceive the eye, yet there is beneath them a hidden fundamental insecurity, which must betray them when the storm of God arises.

standing unsure] This *v.* does not refer to outward prosperity, but to apparently hopeful moral tendencies. Even the better dispositions of the children of evildoers are insecure and will give way before temptation (Grimm).

5. *shall be broken off*] The figure is slightly changed: the storm is

And their fruit *shall be* useless,
Never ripe to eat, and fit for nothing.
6 For children unlawfully begotten are witnesses of wickedness
Against parents when *God* searcheth them out.

7 But a righteous man, though he die before his time, shall be at rest.
8 (For honourable old age is not that which standeth in length of time,

now conceived of, not as uprooting the tree, but as breaking off the branches. For the language, cp. Rom. xi. 17.

before they come to maturity] Cp. ch. iv. 18, and for "immature" (ἀτέλεστοι), ch. iii. 16.

their fruit...useless] Cp. Prov. xv. 6 LXX.; Ecclus. xxiii. 25; and contrast Ps. lii. 8 "a fruitful olive" LXX.

Never ripe to eat] The Gk. word (ἄωρος) is used of untimely death, Job xxii. 16; Prov. xi. 30.

fit for nothing] Contrast Prov. xi. 30 LXX. "Out of the fruit of righteousness groweth a tree of life." See also Ps. cxxix. 6—8.

6. *For children unlawfully begotten are witnesses of wickedness*] The sense is determined by "For": *v.* 6 is the corollary of *vv.* 3—5, and the emphasis lies on *when God searcheth them out*. It is when children suffer misfortune, that they prove wickedness in their parents. Cp. St John ix. 2 "Who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?" and 34 "Thou wast altogether born in sins." It is not that the existence of the children is a reproof of the parents' lust, (for the denunciation is directed neither exclusively nor chiefly against the children of adulterous unions); but the misfortunes of children argue a parental sin, cp. Ecclus. xli. 5—7. This verse is without point, if it does not lay stress upon the misfortunes threatened in *vv.* 3—5.

when God *searcheth them out*] i.e. the children; cp., in connection with the children of the wicked, ch. iii. 18 "the day of decision." *Searching out* (ἐξετασμὸς) is a word somewhat like *visitation* (ἐπισκοπή), whose meaning (for good or ill) must be determined by the context. The word as used here connotes punishment.

Comparison II. (*b*) Ch. IV. 7—14.

This section is complementary to the preceding one, contrasting the hope of the righteous man with the destiny of the wicked. As the apparent prosperity of the wicked is no proof of stability, so the premature death of the righteous is no proof of God's displeasure.

7. *though he die before his time*] The compensation of the righteous man is the profound rest he enjoys: the wicked live on, although their life is threatened for all its seeming prosperity, but the righteous man has passed beyond the reach of care, cp. Job iii. 17; Is. lvii. 2.

8. *old age...length of time*] Cp. George Macdonald, *Within and*

Nor is its measure given by number of years:
But understanding is gray hairs unto men, 9
And an unspotted life is ripe old age.)
Being found well-pleasing unto God he was beloved *of him*, 10
And while living among sinners he was translated:
He was caught away, lest [1]wickedness should change his 11
understanding,

[1] Or, *malice*

Without, Pt. II., Sc. 10 "Life is measured by intensity, not by the 'how much' of the crawling clock." Illustrations might be cited from the literature of all ages: cp. Seneca "Uita non quamdiu sed quam bene acta refert," and "Exigua est pars uitae quam uiuimus." Epicurus in Diog. Laert. x. § 126 "Men do not choose food for its quantity but for its quality; so time is not reckoned by its length, but by its fulness." Philo, *Quis rerum* § 58 uses words almost identical with the text. Cp. *Abr.* § 46. Contrast Ecclus. xxxvii. 25.

its measure] Cp. Job xxxii. 7—9 LXX.; and

> "We live in deeds not years; in thoughts, not breaths;
> In feelings, not in figures on a dial:
> We should count time by heart-throbs."
>
> Bailey, *Festus*.

9. *But understanding is gray hairs unto men*] Cp. "The character of some is aged by nature" (Menander), and Philo, *plant.* § 40 "Those who are gray, not through time, but in goodness of counsel." Cp. Dt. xxx. 20.

an unspotted life...old age] Cp. Is. lxv. 20, which must be interpreted in a moral sense, "The child shall die (ἔσται LXX.) an hundred years old." Duration is not the measure of life, but inward character. For a similar idea, cp. Ps. lxxxiv. 10.

10. *Being found well-pleasing*] Commentators hold that the case of Enoch is cited, cp. Gen. v. 24 LXX. Cp. Ecclus. xliv. 16; Heb. xi. 5. But the "righteous man" of *v.* 7 is still the subject, his death being spoken of in terms used to recount the translation of Enoch, a typical instance.

while living among sinners] Cp. Is. lvii. 1 LXX. "The righteous is taken away from the presence of iniquity."

he was translated] Text renders as if Enoch was the subject. But "transferred" would be more true to the sense of the passage than *translated*. The righteous man of ch. ii. was not translated; he was (*ex hypothesi*) killed. The writer is not concerned to say anything about the righteous man, except that he was taken away (cp. Is. lvii. 1): accordingly he uses μετετέθη, which originally is a colourless word, signifying "to change the place of." To render it "was translated" is to bring in the idea of destination which is not in the writer's mind, and lose sight of his main thought, viz. removal.

11. *He was caught away*] Cp. Acts viii. 39, Vulg. *raptus est*. The

Or guile deceive his soul.

12 (For the bewitching of naughtiness bedimmeth the things which are good,

Gk. word shows that more than merely natural causes were at work in his death. For although the words might be applied to any righteous man who dies prematurely, the special reference is to the righteous man who is murdered. In ch. ii. 20 the wicked say "Let us condemn him to a shameful death"; here the writer points to the Divine interposition which they had mockingly challenged the righteous man to invoke. If in its physical aspect death is man's work, it has a spiritual and Divine aspect as well.

wickedness] The context suggests that the marginal alternative *malice* is the right rendering. If wickedness were in his heart, to remove him from temptation would be ineffectual: God takes him away lest he be *changed*, or *deceived*, both operations being the work of external agents.

change his understanding] Cyprian plainly does not interpret this passage of Enoch: for, having quoted Gen. v. 24, he adds (*de Mort.* § 23) "Sed et per Salomonem docet Spiritus sanctus *eos qui Deo placeant maturius* istinc eximi, ne...polluantur: raptus est (inquit) ne malitia mutaret." The idea is the exact reverse of St John xvii. 15.

change] *sc.* for the worse. Cp. use of ἀλλοιοῦν in Dan. iii. 94 (27), see ch. ii. 15.

understanding] His *moral* insight.

Or guile deceive his soul] Cp. Eph. iv. 14. The writer only sees the peril of temptation: cp. *The Christian Year*, 8th Sunday after Trinity,

> "Death only binds us fast
> To the bright shore of love."

But a higher truth is well stated by Browning:—

> "Why comes temptation, but for man to meet
> And master and make crouch beneath his feet,
> And so be pedestalled in triumph? Pray,
> 'Lead us into no such temptation, Lord'!
> Yea, but, O Thou whose servants are the bold,
> Lead such temptations by the head and hair,
> Reluctant dragons, up to who dares fight,
> That so he may do battle and have praise."
> *The Ring and the Book.* The Pope, 1185—92.

12. This *v.* is an expansion of *v.* 11. There are influences in the world which are too strong for even the innocent of heart.

For the bewitching of naughtiness] In his note on Gal. iii. 1, Bishop Lightfoot points out that βασκαίνειν in that passage involves two ideas; (1) the baleful influence on the recipient, and (2) the envious spirit of the agent. Both ideas are present here: naughtiness may overcome the righteous man in spite of himself; it is jealousy which prompts the

And the giddy whirl of desire perverteth an innocent mind.)
Being made perfect in a little while, he fulfilled long [1]years; 13

[1] Gr. *times.*

assault upon his fidelity. For (1) cp. Theocr. vi. 39, and for (2) Ecclus. xiv. 3—10, and "envy of the devil" in ch. ii. 24.

naughtiness] Vulg. *nugacitas.* Plato makes the *φαῦλος* (the bad man) the opposite of the *σπουδαῖος* (the good), and *φαυλότης* is probably used in this sense here. Lightfoot mentions that bewitchment was held to be especially potent in the case of children, and this idea is present here. The righteous man is caught away early in life.

bedimmeth the things which are good] Among these things are the innocent heart. The jealous influence of evil impairs and dulls the spiritual vision. The *good things* are not those outside him: the influence of evil cannot spoil them, it can only spoil him for them.

And the giddy whirl of desire] The best commentary on these words is Prov. vii. 12. *ῥέμβεσθαι* is there used of the roaming and prowling habits of the strange woman. *ῥεμβεύειν* occurs with the same meaning in Is. xxiii. 16. *ῥεμβασμὸς* then points to the insidious and persistent solicitations of desire, which can make the flesh too strong for the innocent mind. Translate "the wandering allurements of desire."

If the text had linguistic authority for its rendering, the idea would be that even the simple are liable to be fired by the sensuous dance of desire, cp. Seneca, *de V. B.* 28. But the word denotes roving rather than rapid movement.

Giddy is somewhat speciously used; there is in English a secondary use in a moral connection of "giddy," but there is no such use in Greek. The word play is inadmissible as a translation.

perverteth] *μεταλλεύει* (which in class. Gk. means "to mine") is used for *μεταλλάσσει* or *μεταλλοιοῖ*, recalling *ἀλλάξῃ* in preceding verse. Possibly the writer supposed that it was derived from *ἄλλος* "other." The meaning is plain, and the effort of A.V. to unite the sense intended with the literal translation of the Greek in the rendering *undermine*, by what Farrar calls a happy analogy, is, to say the least, unscholarly. The mistake occurs again in ch. xvi. 25, and is due to a want of perfect familiarity with classical Greek forms on the part of the writer. However, papyri yet to be discovered may prove this to have been a popular Alexandrian use.

13. *Being made perfect*] In ecclesiastical Greek *τελειοῦσθαι*, "to be made perfect," has the regular meaning of "attaining martyrdom."

fulfilled long years] For the vb., cp. 4 Macc. xii. 14, and Is. lxv. 20 "an old man who shall not fill his time" LXX. For the idea, cp. Philo, *Post C.* § 17 "judging of old age rather by its worth than by its length of years," and

"Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife,
To all the sensual world proclaim,
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name."

14 For his soul was pleasing unto the Lord:
Therefore [1]hasted he out of the midst of wickedness.
15 But as for the peoples, seeing and understanding not,
Neither laying [2]this to heart,
That grace and mercy are with his chosen,
And that [3]he visiteth his holy ones:—
16 But a righteous man that is dead shall condemn the ungodly that are living,

[1] Or, *he hastened* him *away* [2] Gr. *such a thing as this.*
[3] Gr. his *visitation is with.*

Prof. Jowett has a sermon (*Sermons, Biogr. and Misc.* p. 86 ff.) on this text, crowded with illustrations, and Disraeli (*Coningsby*) writes in a passage copiously illustrated "The history of heroes is the history of youth."

14. *For his soul was pleasing*] Plaut. *Bacch.* iv. 7, 18 writes "whom the gods love die young," translating from the Greek of Menander.

Therefore hasted he] R.V. marg. follows Vulg. *properauit educere illum*, but text is probably right, as ἔσπευσεν is followed by no acc. For this intr. use of σπεύδω, cp. Jer. xxxviii. 20 LXX. and Diog. Laert. ii. 12, 7. See Ep. Barn. iv. 3 "that His loved one may make speed."

COMPARISON III. (*a*) CH. IV. 15—CH. V. 14. THE REVERSAL OF OPINION.

15. *But as for the peoples*] So the text of B, οἱ δὲ λαοί. But it can hardly be right; *v.* 17 of the text shows the word that is required, "the ungodly." A has the variant reading ἄλλοι, which probably conceals ἄνομοι "lawless," a very simple uncial confusion. ἄνομοι serves as a substitute for ἀσεβεῖς, the key-word required for the beginning of the new section. ἄνομοι is found in ch. iv. 6, and in this section it is echoed in ἀνομήματα (iv. 20) and ἀνομίας (v. 7).

seeing and understanding not] These participles are held in suspense over *v.* 16, which contains a comment of the same kind as *vv.* 8, 9, and should perhaps follow *v.* 14; *v.* 17 is a parenthesis, and in it *seeing and understanding not* (*v.* 15) are taken up and emphasised by the corresponding *shall see...shall not understand.* Finally, *shall see* (*v.* 18) takes up *seeing* (*v.* 15) and *shall see* (*v.* 17), and coordinates them with *shall despise*, the main verb of the paragraph. There is thus no anacoluthon, although the sentence is long and involved.

laying this to heart] For the phrase, cp. 1 Sam. xxi. 12 LXX.

grace and mercy] This line is almost identical with ch. iii. 9 *c*.

he visiteth] "Visitation" here in a good sense. See ch. ii. 20, iii. 7.

16. This *v.* would be more appropriate after *v.* 14. Where it stands in the text, it interrupts sense and grammar.

a righteous man that is dead] By death his righteousness is sealed,

And youth that is quickly perfected the many years of an unrighteous man's old age;
For *the ungodly* shall see a wise man's end, 17
And shall not understand what the Lord purposed concerning him,
And for what he safely kept him:—
They shall see, and they shall despise; 18
But them the Lord shall laugh to scorn.
And after this they shall become a dishonoured carcase,

and placed beyond the possibility of being falsified by surrender to temptation. The death which they rejoice over will establish his witness, and the picture of his life will be a standing reproof to them.

condemn the ungodly] Not with final judgment, but by the daily moral contrast between his life which they count as death, and their moral death which they mis-call life. For the Gk. word, "to put in the wrong," cp. Heb. xi. 7.

the many years] A touch of scorn. An old age that can boast of nothing except that it has passed time, is an old age in name only.

17. This *v.* should be read in close connection with *v.* 15. The italics of the text, by supplying a subject to the verbs, show what ought to be the subj. of *v.* 15. Instead of "the ungodly" in this *v.* read *they*, and in *v.* 15 for *the peoples* read *the lawless*. See n. on *v.* 15.

For...shall see] *shall see* takes up and expands *seeing*, in *v.* 15. They shall see the wise man's early death, told of in *v.* 7. "Wise" and "righteous" are interchangeable, just as are "wisdom" and "virtue."

shall not understand] expands *understanding not* in *v.* 15. They did not realise that God had any purpose concerning him.

safely kept him] Vulg. *quare munierit illum*. For the Gk. cp. Is. xli. 10. God's method of safe-keeping is seen in *vv.* 11, 12.

18. *shall see...shall despise*] *shall see* takes up *seeing* of *v.* 15, and *shall see* of *v.* 17. But the emphatic word of the paragraph is *shall despise*, which is used absolutely, with no object expressed, and fixes attention on the temper indulged in by the wicked.

But them the Lord] The pronoun is emphatic at the beginning of the sentence, *them, in their turn*. With dramatic suddenness, another scorn supervenes (cp. Hab. i. 5 "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish" LXX.), and the despisers find themselves mocked. This *l.* is an adaptation of Ps. xxxvii. 13 *a*.

after this] If πτῶμα is translated "carcase" as in text, *after this* will mean "after this contempt of the righteous," or, "after the wicked have ceased to despise" (Grimm). The verse evidently points to a retribution beginning on earth.

dishonoured carcase] Cp. Ez. vi. 4 for the Greek word. *Dishonoured* (ἄτιμος) has reference to the primitive idea (see Soph. *Ant.* 450 ff.) that to be unburied involved dishonour, cp. Is. xiv. 19 "Thou shalt be cast

And [1]a reproach among the dead for ever:
19 Because he shall dash them speechless to the ground,
And shall shake them from the foundations,
And they shall [2]lie utterly waste, and they shall be in anguish,

[1] Or, *be for outrage* [2] Or, *be a perpetual desolation*

out on the mountains, like a corpse accurst" LXX.; Is. lxvi. 24; Jer. xxii. 19. This *l.* tells of the dishonour done to the memory of the wicked in the eyes of their survivors, cp. Jer. ix. 22, xvi. 4.

reproach among the dead for ever] For διʼ αἰῶνος, cp. Dt. v. 29 LXX.; the phrase indicates indefinite duration.

The thought is Greek. Burial conferred a kind of franchise upon the souls of the dead; the unburied were repudiated by those who had predeceased them and had obtained burial. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 325 "inops inhumataque turba," and Conington's note; also Hor. *Od.* i. 28.

The writer's meaning is vague, as no doubt was his intention. Sufficient is said, however, to indicate his idea that in their death the wicked would be dishonoured among both living and dead, and that conscious retribution in some form would be their lot.

19. *Because he shall dash them*] The wicked are compared to the children of a conquered city, cp. Ps. cxxxvii. 9; Is. xiii. 16. The picture is drawn fiercely and mercilessly, and recalls the tone of Job xviii., or of the imprecatory Psalms. No contemporary allusion need be sought in the words: they are too vague and rhetorical. ῥήξει seems to stand for ῥάξει, cp. Ps. cii. 10; Is. ix. 11; Jer. xxiii. 39 LXX.

speechless] Cp. the account of the Divine dealing with Heliodorus, 2 Macc. iii. 27, 29. Contrast the dumbness induced by terror with the previous expressions of their arrogance.

shake them] The writer seems to have in mind Job ix. 6 LXX. "who shaketh the earth from its foundations, and the pillars of it tremble," thus comparing the judgments of God to an earthquake.

lie utterly waste] The Greek words recall Nahum i. 10 LXX. "it shall be wasted to the foundation." The wicked are compared to a parched land, cp. Is. xix. 5—10. That these three judgments do not refer to final annihilation is seen from the following clause "they shall be in anguish." Cp. Ps. lxxiii. 19.

be in anguish] The phrase is found in Is. xix. 10 LXX. "The workers in them shall be in anguish." Direct speech takes the place of metaphor: the plain fact is terrible enough.

memory shall perish] After the three vigorous metaphors drawn from the destruction of captive children, the shaking of a city by an earthquake, and the parching of a land by the failure of its rivers, comes the final condemnation, "they shall be forgotten." The same thought clinches the similar denunciation in Job xviii. 17. After all, it is only what they had foreseen, ch. ii. 4 and Pss. Sol. xiii. 10.

And their memory shall perish.

They shall come, [1]when their sins are reckoned up, with coward fear;
And their lawless deeds shall convict them to their face.
Then shall the righteous man stand in great boldness

[1] Or, *when they reckon up their sins*

20. *They shall come*] After the vehement vagueness of *vv.* 18, 19, the definite picture is suggested of the wicked being confronted after death with their righteous victim of days gone by, now at length openly justified for his manner of life.

sins are reckoned up] The majority of commentators hold (though Grimm disagrees) that this passage, though containing a vivid and definite picture, is not meant to teach an objective judgment in time and place, but only to suggest the reflections that follow upon the clearer vision that death permits. See Introd. § 13.

with coward fear] Fear, partly of the unknown and partly of the divine holiness. Cp. Prov. xiii. 5 LXX. "The wicked is ashamed, and shall have no confidence"; Pss. Sol. xiii. 4, 5.

shall convict] Their conscience is awakened, and they seem to meet their sins once more. Their sins, i.e. their sinful character, had always been living with them, but the torpidness of their conscience had enabled them to ignore their presence. But now, the hideous truth of the corruption of their own selves is apparent.

to their face] Vulg. *ex aduerso*. Cp. Ps. l. 21; St Luke xix. 22. Although the writer is careful to abstain from any doctrine of a final judgment, it is probable that he was not unfamiliar with such speculations as those of the Book of Enoch. For the *reckoning up of sins*, cp. Enoch 81, 4 "Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness, concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written, and (against whom) no day of judgment is found." *id.* 98, 8 "All your oppression wherewith ye oppressed is written down every day till the day of your judgment." *id.* 104, 7 "Ye sinners, though ye say 'Ye cannot ascertain it, and all our sins are not written down,' still they will write down your sins continually every day." Cp. Daniel vii. 10.

v. 1. Augustine (*Ep.* 185, 41; *Contr. Gaud.* 1, 51; *Serm.* 58, 7) treats this passage as referring to the Day of Judgment. But neither this conception, nor that of a final triumph for the ideal Israel, and the vindication of righteousness upon a renovated earth, seems to belong to the book (Farrar). The writer dislikes the local and definite, and views the individual consciousness as the theatre of all rewards and punishments. Cp. Milton's

> "The mind is its own place, and it can make
> A heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

Before the face of them that afflicted him,
And them that make his labours of no account.
2 When they see [1]*it*, they shall be troubled with terrible fear,
And shall be amazed at the marvel of *God's* salvation.

[1] Or, him

He postulates a continued consciousness after death (to be distinguished from immortality) in the wicked, who will be rendered capable of seeing both themselves and the righteous man as they had never done before, apart from the prepossessions of spite and sensuality.

The writer is impelled by a strong moral purpose: either he lacks the imagination of the writer of Enoch, or else he writes for a different public, and resolutely controls his inventive faculty. He is much more at his ease among abstract ideas, and prefers to dispense with the vivid colouring and movement ordinarily to be found in Apocalyptic. The victory of Truth is his confident teaching, and he is indifferent as to place and time. He is concerned with principles, which are timeless.

Then] The triumphant *then* finds an echo in St Matt. xiii. 43.

stand] The posture denotes confidence, cp. St Luke xxi. 36. With *boldness* cp. 1 John ii. 28, iv. 17. The boldness of the righteous stands in sharp contrast with the speechlessness (iv. 19) and the fear (iv. 20) of the wicked. The wicked cannot have *boldness* before God, cp. Prov. xiii. 5 LXX.

afflicted] Vulg. *angustiauerunt*. The aor. part. points to the past acts of cruelty which culminated in murder, while the pres. partic. *that make...of no account* indicates an habitual attitude. The meaning of the latter Gk. verb stands midway between Vulg. *abstulerunt* (plundered) and Eng. *despise*; cp. Heb. x. 28, of "disregarding" the law. The wicked did not merely mentally despise his efforts after life (ch. ii. 15); they tried to negative his achievements by causing him to fall before their temptations (ch. ii. 17, 19).

2. *When they see* it] Omit *it*; *see* is used absolutely (cp. *despise*, iv. 18) and loses in suggestiveness if *it* or *him* (marg.) is supplied.

The ungodly "see" at last: they see the truth concerning the righteous, they see his confidence, they see the contrast presented by themselves. Their self-confident challenge in ch. ii. 17 *let us see* is dramatically recalled.

shall be troubled] This passage recalls Is. xiii. 7, 8 LXX. where *shall be troubled, shall be amazed* are found, while *v.* 3 *b* is suggested by Is. xiv. 16. Cp. also Is. lx. 5 LXX.

God's *salvation*] ℵ has *his* salvation, i.e. either God's, or that granted to the righteous man. For the former, cp. Gen. xlix. 18, although "salvation *from* the Lord" is the more natural expression found in Ex. xiv. 13; for the latter, cp. LXX. frequently. As however the phrase is like that in 3 Macc. vi. 33 "their unexpected salvation," where there can be no doubt as to the meaning of *their*, it is better to translate "the righteous man's salvation." His salvation is his unexpected happiness, and the boldness of his bearing.

They shall say [1]within themselves repenting,
And for distress of spirit shall they groan,
This was he whom aforetime we had in derision,
And *made* a parable of [2]reproach:
We fools accounted his life madness,
And his end without honour:
How was he numbered among sons of God?

[1] Or, *among* [2] Or, *reproach, we fools: we accounted*

vv. 3–14 contain the confession of the wicked. The section forms a tragic counterpart to their earlier utterance (ch. ii. 1—20), and by its refusal to appeal to the emotions of readers, is marked by a dignified gravity.

3. *within themselves*] Marg. *among*, which is better, cp. Is. xiii. 8 "they shall complain one to another," and Vulg. *dicentes inter se.*

repenting] In a non-religious sense, i.e. "changing their mind"; cp. "repented himself," of Judas, St Matt. xxvii. 3.

distress of spirit] The Gk. word, meaning lit. "torturing confinement" (Sanday and H. *Rom.* ii. 9), occurs four times in LXX. and in St Paul. Cp. 4 Macc. xi. 11.

This was he] For *this*, cp. Is. xiv. 16. There may be a reminiscence of these words in Ep. Barn. vii. 9 "Is not this he whom once we mocked and spat upon?"

in derision] lit. *for derision.* For the phrase, cp. Jer. xx. 7, xlviii. 26, 39 LXX.

a parable] The word is coupled with "proverb" or "byword" (cp. Hor. *fabula fies*) in Dt. xxviii. 37; 2 Chr. vii. 20; cp. Ps. lxix. 11. It is found, as here, with "reproach" in Jer. xxiv. 9. The righteous man is a "taunt-song of reproach."

4. *We fools*] *fools*, in the literal sense of intellectual incapacity. Vulg. *insensati*; the irony is then seen of fools accusing others of madness. But the words go with *v.* 3, as the rhythm of the Gk. shows; *whom...we had in derision, fools that we were.*

madness] A strong word, denoting frenzy. Perhaps a reference to ch. ii. 15, where see note.

without honour] Cp. ch. ii. 20, iii. 2, 3. Farrar recalls how Savonarola, Huss, Cranmer died amidst the execrations of their enemies, and yet accepted with perfect faith their apparently final failure.

5. *How was he*] Exclamatory, rather than interrogative, cp. Is. xiv. 12.

numbered] For the word, cp. Is. xiv. 10. There is a word-play in Gk. between *numbered* and *accounted* (*v.* 4). For the sense, cp. St Luke x. 20. Just as there was a register of the citizens of the theocratic community, entitling those enrolled to temporal blessings (Ps. lxix. 28), so an analogous register is pictured as existing in the eternal world. This conversation among the dead may have been suggested by Is. xiv.

And *how* is his lot among saints?
6 Verily we went astray from the way of truth,
And the light of righteousness shined not for us,
And the sun rose not for us.
7 We took our fill of the paths of lawlessness and destruction,

sons of God] The expression conveys no metaphysical meaning, but has the same moral bearing as "sons of God" in Hos. i. 10. The phrase here is purely a variant for "saints": it is not "angels" as in Job i. 6, ii. 1. They recognise that the claim of ii. 13, 18 is justified.

his lot among saints] The lot of Israel was the Promised Land, so called with allusion to its division by lot. 'Lot' (κλῆρος) is then used (and κληρονομία "inheritance") metaphorically, as the inheritance in God which the saints enjoy, cp. ch. iii. 14; Ps. xvi. 5; Ecclus. xlv. 22. See Acts xxvi. 18 and Col. i. 12. Here the scene of the *lot* is placed among saints; in Col. i. 12 the inheritance of the saints is placed in the kingdom of light.

6. *Verily*] ἄρα, Vulgate *ergo*. The inferential particle marks the conclusion drawn. "We counted him mad; we find him among sons of God: therefore we went astray." The inference is not "Therefore (we can now see that) we went astray," but "Therefore, because we judged so falsely, we went astray." If it had been the former, the wicked would be seen struck with surprise that they had, after all, missed the way of truth and had been wandering in darkness. But in their most confident moments they had never been hypocrites; they had never posed as searchers after truth: they were frankly materialistic, and now they see why they were so; they had misjudged the righteous life.

the way of truth] Either, *the true way*, as opposed to the false way, i.e. 'our own' way, cp. Is. liii. 6, and Ep. Barnabas xviii., "There are two ways, the one of light and the other of darkness," or, the way which leads to truth, moral and spiritual. *Way of truth* is found in Ps. cxix. 30, cp. James v. 19; 2 Pet. ii. 2.

the light of righteousness] Cp. Ps. cxix. 105. Righteousness is compared to light, Is. lxii. 1.

the sun rose not for us] For the picture cp. Mal. iv. 2 "The sun of righteousness shall arise." More is intended than the subjective "our eyes were blinded with sin": the objective "God hid His face, and in His disfavour is death" is meant. For this *v.* cp. Is. lix. 9.

7. *We took our fill*] *Paths* used in a metaph. sense can go with *took our fill*; there is no need to see here a mixture of two constructions. A similar use is found in Prov. xiv. 14 LXX. "He shall be filled with his own ways," and in a more expanded form in Prov. i. 31. Vulg. goes slightly beyond the Greek, in rendering *lassati sumus*.

paths] For the *paths of lawlessness* contrasted with the way of truth cp. Ps. cxix. 29 LXX., where "way of iniquity" provides the same contrast. *Paths of destruction*, cp. Job xxx. 12, and St Matt. vii. 13.

And we journeyed through trackless deserts,
But the way of the Lord we knew not.
What did our arrogancy profit us?
And what good have riches [1]and vaunting brought us?
Those things all passed away as a shadow,
And as a message that runneth by:
As a ship passing through the billowy water,

[1] Gr. *with.*

trackless deserts] Their life had no moral purpose, and led nowhere: like the wanderer in the dark, they moved in a circle. The Greek words occur in Jer. xii. 10 and Ps. lxiii. 1. *trackless* is explained in next *l.*

way of the Lord] Cp. Baruch iii. 20, 23 "The way of knowledge, of wisdom, they knew not," and Job xxiv. 13. Cp. Ps. xcv. 10 LXX. "They knew not my ways." With the whole *v.*, cp. Is. lix. 7, 8, 9.

8. *our arrogancy*] ὑπερηφανία, a very strong word implying pride of self and contempt for others. It is twice attributed in Apocr. to the people of Sodom, Ecclus. xvi. 8; 3 Macc. ii. 5.

riches and vaunting] *diuitiarum iactantia*, Vulg. 'Vaunting' (ἀλαζόνεια) is the ostentatious display of the materialist, who knows no measure of value except money In 4 Macc. i. 26 it is ranked with covetousness, vain-glory, factiousness, and envy, as a sin of the soul. J. B. Mayor (*Ep. of St James*, iv. 6, 16) distinguishes between ὑπερηφ. defiant wickedness, and ἀλαζ. confidence in one's cleverness, luck, strength, skill, etc. Cp. Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* lvii. 2.

vv. **9—12** contain a series of similes, gathered largely from O.T., expressing the elusive fugitiveness of life. The world moves on, and things are as though men had never been.

9. *Those things all passed away*] In the Gk. the vb. παρῆλθεν stands emphatically at the beginning of the sentence, "Past are all those things." Cp. 1 John ii. 17. Their self-conceit, their wealth, and the masterfulness that rested on it are gone, and so identified with them were they (*v.* 13), that the passing of their possessions is tantamount to the passing of themselves.

as a shadow] Cp. ch. ii. 5; 1 Chr. xxix. 15; Job viii. 9. The idea is not merely the unsubstantialness of a shadow: it is that a shadow cast by a cloud sweeps across the land, and is gone, and leaves no mark by which its passage can be traced.

as a message that runneth by] For the Greek verb, cp. Philo, *Quod Deus* § 37 "a shadow or a breeze that runneth by and will not stay." Vulgate *tanquam nuntius percurrens*, cp. Job ix. 25; 2 Sam. xviii. 22—24.

10. *a ship*] The picture would not be true of a modern steamer, whose wake is traceable for miles, but the writer is thinking of the light skiffs, mentioned in the source-passage, Job ix. 26; cp. note in this series, "These skiffs, constructed of a wooden keel and the rest of reeds are the 'vessels of bulrushes' of Is. xviii. 2. They carried but one or two persons, and being light were extremely swift." The swift-

Whereof, when it is gone by, there is no trace to be found,
Neither pathway of its keel in the billows:
11 Or as when a bird flieth through the air,
No token of *her* passage is found,
But the light wind, lashed with the stroke of her pinions,
And rent asunder [1]with the violent rush of the moving wings, is passed through,
And afterwards no sign of *her* coming is found therein:
12 Or as when an arrow is shot at a mark,
The air disparted closeth up again immediately,

[1] Or, *with the violent rush, is passed through by the motion of her wings*

ness is not in question here, but the lightness: the skiffs glide over the surface, and leave no impression.

pathway of its keel] An example of the author's poetic language. See Introd. p. xvi., note 3.

11. *a bird*] Cp. again, Job ix. 26 and Prov. xxiv. 54 LXX. (xxx. 19 A.V.) "the track of a flying eagle, and the path of a sea-faring ship." Again, the wonder of things which pass and leave no trace is pointed to.

lashed...rent asunder] The use of these vigorous words emphasizes the complete absence of any corresponding visible impression.

pinions] πτεροῖ, either *feathers*, or the flat of the wing.

rent asunder] Cp.

"Illa leuem fugiens raptim *secat aethera* pennis."
Verg. *Georg.* i. 410.

with the violent rush] Lit. with the force of the rush of the beating wings. Gk. word denotes impetus, and not noise, cp. 2 Macc. ix. 7.

is passed through] The passive is well used, to illustrate the complete absence of reaction on the part of the medium in which the violent agitation takes place. What means so much to the actors is matter of indifference to their surroundings. Similarly, the world "is passed through" by men who are "such stuff as dreams are made of," and who leave not even the phantom of a trace of their passage. For reasons of rhythm, the rendering of the marg. is to be preferred to that in the text.

is found] The three aorists *is passed through, is found, closeth up* possess a gnomic force, the particular actions recurring continually, with a suggestion of rapid instantaneous movement.

12. *The air...closeth up again*] The meaning of the line is quite clear, but it is doubtful if the reading is right. ἀναλύειν in xvi. 14 means *to release* or *restore*, but it is questionable if "the air is released (or restored) upon itself" would be Greek. Again, it is used in Philo for "resolving" a compound into its elements (*Quis Rerum* § 57), but, "the air is immediately resolved into itself" (Bissell and Farrar) does not even give sense. Of the two renderings, *is released* is the better.

So that men know not where it passed through:
So we also, as soon as we were born, [1]ceased to be; 13
And of virtue we had no sign to shew,
But in our wickedness we were utterly consumed.
Because the hope of the ungodly man is as chaff carried by 14
the wind,

[1] Gr. *failed.*

So that men know not] ὡς ἀγνοῆσαι has no subject; it is therefore gratuitous to supply *men*. Rather, "the air cut through by the arrow, closes up again, so that *it* (the air) knows not where it passed." The air is as unconscious of the flight of the arrow once it has passed, as the world is of the lives of men who leave no mark in the moral sphere.

13. *So we also...ceased to be*] In this line the similes of *vv.* 9—12 are applied, and the life history of the sensualist is seen to be "we were born, we died." The time between the two points of appearance and disappearance when viewed in a moral light, is foreshortened till it becomes negligible. The argument is that righteousness alone possesses vitality, and therefore non-moral life is non-existent. Accordingly, the instantaneous rebound of the air when the arrow has flown through it is analogous to the death of the wicked succeeding instantaneously (morally speaking) to their birth.

For the Gk. word *died*, lit. *failed* (Vulgate *desiuimus esse*), cp. Ps. xc. 9 LXX.

of virtue we had no sign to shew] For *sign*, cp. *v.* 11 "no sign of her coming." Virtue is the sole reality, and therefore it is the only thing in a life which can leave a sign of itself. Evil is negative, and its traces, like the passage of the bird, are negation. Their only "signs" were the tokens of their mirth, ch. ii. 9.

But in our wickedness] The particles μὲν...δὲ show that there is a contrast intended between this line and the preceding "while we had no virtue to shew, we had wickedness enough to destroy us." A little of that which they refused could have given them an element of positiveness: that upon which they spent their lives reduced them to a sheer nonentity.

14. It is not plain whether this *v.* is the writer's summary, or the final words of the speakers of the previous verses.

Because] Four similes illustrate the principle which establishes the truth of all that has been said.

the hope of the ungodly man] abstr. for concr. "that on which he rests his hope," i.e his wealth, pleasure, etc.

as chaff] A picture of the solidity of his achievements. For *chaff carried by the wind*, cp. Is. xxix. 5; also Ps. i. 4, xxxiv. 5. χνοῦς, Vulgate *lanugo*, denotes properly dust of chaff.

And [1]as [2]foam vanishing before a tempest;
And is scattered as smoke *is scattered* by the wind,
And passeth by as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but a day.

15 But the righteous live for ever,
And in the Lord is their reward,

[1] Gr. *as foam chased to thinness*: or, *as thin foam chased.*
[2] Most Greek authorities read *hoar frost*: some authorities, perhaps rightly, *a spider's web.*

as foam vanishing] ℵAB read πάχνη, *hoar-frost*, but hoar-frost is not blown by the wind. The R.V. "foam" follows the reading of a few Gk. MSS. ἄχνη, and Vulg. *spuma.*

R.V. marg. has "some authorities (read) perhaps rightly, *a spider's web.*" ἀράχνη is very likely to be right, cp. Job viii. 14 LXX., where it is found in the verse immediately succeeding "the hope of the ungodly shall perish." Cp. note in this series "The flimsiness of the spider's house is proverbial in the East. Mohammed compares idolaters to the spider: 'The likeness of those who take to themselves patrons beside God is as the likeness of the spider who taketh to herself a house; and verily the frailest of houses is the spider's house.'" Koran xxix. 40, cp. Job xxvii. 18 LXX.; Ps. xc. 9 LXX.

smoke] Cp. Ps. xxxvii. 20; Is. li. 6.

a guest that tarrieth but a day] No picture could represent more pathetically the unabidingness of the hold upon life of the wicked. He is like the "lodger" at the wayside inn, cp. Jer. xiv. 8, and is forgotten by the next night when a new traveller claims the attention of the host. Cp. also Is. xxxviii. 12.

COMPARISON III. (*b*) CH. V. 15—23. THE RIGHTEOUS LIVE IN GOD'S CARE, BUT GOD WHO EXALTS THEM MANIFESTS HIS WRATH AGAINST THE WICKED.

15. *live for ever*] *For ever* (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) is almost a qualitative phrase, indicating an eternalness of character as much as of time, cp. St John xvii. 3. The writer has got beyond the stage at which mere extension of time counts as immortality, cp. ch. viii. 17. Here he argues that the righteous live eternally, i.e. on the eternal plane, their reward and the care for them being with God, cp. 2 Macc. vii. 9; Ecclus. xli. 13; and Philo, *Jos.* § 43 "In my judgment no good man dies, but will live for ever an ageless life with an immortal nature."

their reward] A continued spiritualisation of material conceptions. Fellowship with God is their reward; He is their portion, cp. Pss. lxxiii. 26, cxix. 57. Or, *in the Lord* may mean "in His keeping," cp. Is. lxii. 11, a rendering made more possible by next line.

And the care for them with the Most High.
Therefore shall they receive the crown of royal dignity 16
And the diadem of beauty from the Lord's hand;
Because with his right hand shall he cover them,
And with his arm shall he shield them.
He shall take his jealousy as complete armour, 17

the care for them] Cp. Pss. xl. 17, lv. 22.

with the Most High] Cp. Is. xlix. 4 "My judgment is with the Lord."

16. *Therefore*] Because God cares for them.

crown] The Gk. word βασίλειον is not necessarily a *crown*, the meaning being determined by the context. It sometimes means *palace*, sometimes *kingdom*, cp. ch. i. 14. Here, with *dignity* (εὐπρέπειαν), it should be "the royal *robe*," cp. Ps. xciii. 1 LXX. (εὐπρ. ἐνεδύσατο) and Bar. v. 1, where the comeliness [dignity] of the glory of God is to be put on in place of the robe of mourning.

diadem of beauty] The idea is borrowed from Is. lxii. 3 "A crown of beauty, and a diadem of royalty in the hand of thy God." The *diadem* was a "band of purple silk sown with pearls, the symbol of oriental royalty" (Farrar). The conception is purely figurative, and is explained in the following lines.

cover them] Cp. ch. xix. 8; Is. xlix. 2, li. 16.

shield them] The Greek word means *to champion*, to throw one's shield over another, cp. Zech. ix. 15; 3 Macc. vii. 6. Farrar quotes Browning, *Instans Tyrannus*, vii.:

> ..."From marge to blue marge
> The whole sky grew his targe
> With the sun's self for visible boss,
> While an Arm ran across
> Which the earth heaved beneath like a breast
> Where the wretch was safe prest!"

17. The defence of the righteous brings the writer to the punishment of the wicked, a theme which he seems able to handle only in terms of the concrete, and which gives free scope to the fierce Hebrew vindictiveness which all his philosophy could not tame. This vivid and eloquent passage is based on Is. lix. 16—18 (cp. Ps. vii. 11—13), and is intended to suggest wonder and terror, rather than any definite scheme of final judgment. The only means that the prophets found effective for arousing worldly men to spiritual realities was to picture the world they knew overwhelmed by physical catastrophes; they were compelled to speak in the only language that their hearers could understand. Cp. the connection between the phenomena prophesied in Joel ii. 30, 31 and the Day of Pentecost, Acts ii.

jealousy as complete armour] For *jealousy* (ζῆλος) see Is. xlii. 13; it is the jealousy of love that is provoked by the oppression of the loved one.

And shall make the *whole* creation his weapons [1]for vengeance on *his* enemies:

18 He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate,
And shall array himself with judgement unfeigned as with a helmet;

19 He shall take holiness as an invincible shield,

20 And he shall sharpen stern wrath for a sword:

[1] Or, *to repel* his *enemies*

The full soldier's equipment consisted of helmet, breast-plate, sword, shield, greaves, and lance. For the connection of Eph. vi. 13—17 with this passage, see Introd. § 17. A similar passage occurs in Ign. *Polyc.* § 6.

make the whole *creation his weapons*] This is a favourite thought of the writer's. See *v.* 20 and ch. xvi. 17, 24; xix. 6. Cp. Judg. v. 20 "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera," and Ecclus. xxxix. 29. Philo, *Moses* i. 17, of the plagues of Egypt, writes "God determined that the land of the wicked should be devastated with the four elements of which the world is composed; for He fashions the same things in health-giving ways, and turns them when He wills to the destruction of the wicked."

for vengeance on his *enemies*] Mg. *to repel* his *enemies*, cp. xi. 3. The alternative rendering is perhaps better, as the idea of vengeance does not for certain belong to the passage.

18. *shall put on righteousness*] Cp. Job xxix. 14; Is. xi. 5. There are two similar metaphors relating to moral qualities in 1 Pet. iv. 1 "Arm yourselves with the same mind," and 1 Pet. v. 5.

with judgement unfeigned as with a helmet] κρίσις ἀνυπόκριτος presents the same kind of verbal oxymoron as 2 Cor. vii. 10 μετάνοια ἀμεταμέλητος. The meaning is "judgement without respect of persons." *Unfeigned* occurs in ch. xviii. 16; Rom. xii. 9; 1 Tim. i. 5. There does not seem to be any definite connection between the symbol and the thing symbolized; the breast-plate and the helmet, armour of defence, represent righteousness and judgement, both of which are capable of offensive action.

19. *holiness as an invincible shield*] "That holiness of God against which all reproaches and opposition are hurled in vain" (Farrar). ὅσιος in O.T. is almost exclusively used of piety *towards God*, but it is used of God Himself in Ps. cxlv. 17 and Deut. xxxii. 4. The shield, which in Eph. vi. symbolizes unassailable faith, stands here for the impregnableness of the pure life.

20. *And he shall sharpen*] *And* (δὲ) introduces the weapons of offence. Cp. Ez. xxi. 9 for a like simile.

stern wrath for a sword] The word for "stern" (ἀπότομος) is used five times in this book, meaning "stern to inexorableness." Here there is a word-play between it and *sword*, which suggests that the passive ἀπότομον (abscisus) should have almost an active value (i.e. scathing).

And the world shall go forth with him to fight against *his* insensate *foes*.
Shafts of lightning shall fly with true aim, 21
And from the clouds, as from a well drawn bow, shall they leap to the mark.
And *as* from an engine of war shall be hurled hailstones 22
full of wrath;
The water of the sea shall be angered against them,

shall go forth with him to fight] Cp. *v.* 17 and ch. xi. 15—20. A further illustration of a fact repeatedly noticed in this book that all God's good things may be turned into agents of punishment. For the Gk. verb, cp. Rev. vi. 8.

against his *insensate* foes] A stronger word (*παράφρονες*) than that used hitherto (*ἄφρονες*), meaning *perverse, distraught*. This line marks a transition. Not only will God arm Himself with His own virtues, but His created world shall take up arms for Him, the lightning, the clouds, the hail, the waters. *vv.* 21, 22 are based upon Hab. iii., which suggests this line also.

21. *Shafts of lightning shall fly*] From Hab. iii. 11 *εἰς φῶς βολίδες σου πορεύσονται*, "Thy shafts shall go forth as light." For *shafts of lightning*, cp. Zech. ix. 14, and for the picture (sword, bow, shafts in God's hand) cp. Ps. vii. 12, 13. "Shafts of lightning," gen. of apposition, i.e. shafts which are lightning.

from the clouds, as from a well drawn bow] So A.V., but Vulgate has *a bene curuato arcu nubium*, and Farrar writes "the figure is more startling and more in accordance with the writer's style if we render 'from the well-drawn bow of the clouds.'" For God's bow, cp. Zech. ix. 13; Hab. iii. 9. But does not the writer mean more than this? Does he not mean that the rainbow, previously set in the clouds as a token of Divine mercy (Gen. ix. 14) and always turned away from the earth, shall now become an engine of wrath and be seen pointed against the earth? If so, the picture is still more startling.

shall they leap] Grimm notes that *leap* is used of an arrow as early as in Hom. *Il.* iv. 125.

22. For this verse cp. Is. xxviii. 2; Ez. xxxviii. 22.

as *from an engine of war*] The *πετροβόλος* was a siege-engine used for hurling stones, differing from the catapult, which was a large cross-bow. The Vulgate mistakenly treats it as an adjective, and taking *θυμοῦ* with it translates *a petrosa ira*. Farrar is somewhat misled by this rendering, and forgets that *πετρ.* is found as a subst. in Job xli. 19, and that *full of wrath* is a phrase found in ch. xi. 18 and Is. li. 20.

hailstones full of wrath] The elements are made to share the anger of God who wields them. Deane compares Jos. x. 11; Rev. viii. 7. He sees here a reference back to the Egyptian plague, Ex. ix. 23—25.

The water of the sea] Cp. Ps. xviii. 15; the whole Psalm is some-

And rivers shall sternly overwhelm them;
23 A mighty blast shall encounter them,
And as a tempest shall it winnow them away:
And *so* shall lawlessness make all the land desolate,

what similar in tone to this passage. Grimm sees here a possible allusion to Pharaoh and his host at the Red Sea.

rivers shall sternly overwhelm them] For the word-play in the Greek, see Introd. p. xvi., note 3. God's wrath is compared to an angry river, Is. lix. 19 LXX. The combination *rivers shall overwhelm* occurs in two other places, Song viii. 7; Is. xliii. 2 LXX.

23. *A mighty blast shall encounter them*] Vulg. *spiritus uirtutis*. It is best to translate as in the text, since "the spirit of His power" would require the pron. αὐτοῦ, cp. ch. xi. 20. ἀνὴρ δυνάμεως, υἱὸς δυν. are common in LXX.

as a tempest shall it winnow them] Cp. Is. xli. 16. Cp. again ch. xi. 20, the idea in which corresponds to that here. The winnowing out may be meant to suggest nothing more than the action of a high wind; or some catastrophe may be indicated such as in Is. xxxvii. 36.

And so] καὶ very rightly rendered as in the text. The two last lines of the chapter stand altogether apart in sense and style from those preceding. They clinch with a somewhat obvious aphorism all the eloquent denunciation that has gone before, and bring the reader back with some suddenness from cosmic and timeless flights to concrete moralisings. They serve the purpose, however, of a connecting-link between the three comparisons which have occupied chs. ii.—v. and ch. vi. 1—11, which is a reaffirmation of ch. i., more directly and forcibly pointed in view of the considerations brought forward.

make all the land desolate] In *vv.* 17—23 God's wrath has been seen in operation, and yet when all is summed up the ultimate cause is not God's wrath, but man's lawlessness. Cp. ch. i. 12, 13 "God made not death: draw not upon yourselves destruction." This truth is recognised to-day. "A large part of the physical evil in the world is simply the result of moral evil, and therefore to be regarded as part of the human foreground, not the divine background of the picture which the world presents" (J. R. Illingworth, *Christian Character*, p. 135); cp. Is. xiii. 9. The significance of "all the land" must not be pressed: the words merely carry on the imagery of *vv.* 21, 22, and are equally in place whether the whole picture tells of earthly retribution or of a final Judgement.

overturn the thrones of princes] Cp. Job xii. 18, 19, 21 LXX. The writer passes from the general to the particular, from the land to its rulers, and so prepares the way for beginning ch. vi. with an address to rulers and kings similar to that with which he began ch. i.

Part I. B.

Chs. vi.—ix. incl. form the core of the book: here its Sapiential and professedly Solomonic character are clearly seen. Solomon sets forth

And their evil-doing shall overturn the thrones of princes.

Hear therefore, ye kings, and understand; 6
Learn, ye judges of the ends of the earth:
Give ear, ye that have dominion over much people, 2
And make your boast [1]in multitudes of nations.
Because your dominion was given you from the Lord, 3
And your sovereignty from the Most High;
Who shall search out your works,
And shall make inquisition of your counsels:
Because being officers of his kingdom ye did not judge aright, 4

[1] Or, *in the multitudes of* your *nations*

the essential nature of Wisdom and acknowledges his complete dependence upon her. This portion opens (vi. 1—11) with an appeal to the great men of the earth to recognise their responsibility for the power they have received; and closes (ix.) with a prayer by him for the gift of the Heavenly Wisdom. In chs. i.—v. there was no allusion, direct or indirect, to the professed Solomonic origin of the book.

CH. VI. 1—11. AN APPEAL TO RULERS TO LEARN WISDOM.

1. *Hear therefore, ye kings*] Solomon speaks with authority to his peers, cp. *v.* 11. The book opened with a similar address: the intervening digressions were rather abruptly closed by ch. v. 23 d, which prepared the way for a return to the original subject.

Learn, ye judges] To judge was to rule, and therefore kings are still in the writer's view. The *v.* is a reminiscence of Ps. ii. 10 "and now, ye kings, understand" LXX.

the ends of the earth] *sc.* the earth in all its extent, cp. Ps. ii. 8, xxii. 27. For the phrase, cp. 1 Sam. ii. 10.

Farrar writes "The long sufferings of the Jews under heathen autocrats made them feel a special interest in ideal warnings to kings. The writer could not really expect that his book would be read by heathen rulers: his appeal to kings as his special auditors belongs only to the rhetorical form of the book, and his assumption of the rôle of Solomon."

3. *Because*] The reason why Solomon demands their attention.

your dominion...from the Lord] This derivation of sovereignty is clearly taught in the Bible. Cp. 1 Chron. xxix. 12; Prov. viii. 15, 16; Dan. v. 18; St John xix. 11. See also 4 Macc. xii. 11; Enoch xlvi. 5 "He will put down the kings from their thrones...because they do not...acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them"; Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* lxi. 1.

shall search out] Cp. Ps. xi. 4, 5, and notes on ch. i. 6 b, 8, 9.

4. *Because*] The ground of the charge laid against them.

Neither kept ye [1]law, nor walked after the counsel of God.
5 Awfully and swiftly shall he come upon you;
Because a stern judgement befalleth them that be in high place:
6 For the man of low estate may be pardoned in mercy,

[1] Or, *the law*

being officers] Although merely administrators and stewards, they had acted with the caprice of irresponsible despots.

judge aright] Cp. Ps. lxxxii. 2. They did more than give unfair judgements: they debased the moral currency, falsified the weights and gave evil the validity of good. The king's precedents have a terrible cogency, almost divine because of his borrowed divinity.

Neither kept ye law] The law of right and wrong, cp. Rom. i. 19; ii. 14, and Philo, *Abr.* § 1. The Divine Law is to some extent a matter of intuition. "Those who will may without difficulty live according to the prescribed laws, since the laws that the patriarchs easily observed were unwritten, not one of them having been formulated: in fact we ought to say that the laws are nothing else than the chronicled lives of the men of old."

nor walked] For the phrase, cp. Ps. i. 1, "walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly."

5. *Awfully*] They shall experience the terror they (cp. ch. viii. 15, *dread princes*) had inspired in others.

swiftly] Cp. Prov. i. 27. *Shall he come upon you*, cp. 1 Thess. v. 3.

Because...befalleth] *Because* gives the reason for the prec. line. There is an eternal principle that most shall be required from those who have received most. *Befalleth*, the present tense shows the application of a law of unfailing validity.

For "stern" (ἀπότομος), cp. ch. xi. 10. *In high place*, the Greek word is the same as in Rom. xiii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13.

6. The sense of this *v.* is plain, but the Greek is difficult. It is impossible to translate συγγνωστὸς ἐλέους "for pity's sake," taking ἐλέους (with Deane) as gen. of cause. The contemporary use of συγγνωστὸς with the genitive may be seen in Philo, *Jos.* § 10 συγγ. τῆς ἄγαν ἀπαιδευσίας, where the genitive is that of the thing in respect of which pardon is given; but this is plainly not the use here. Vulg. reads "exiguo conceditur *misericordia*," thus suggesting the translation "is pardoned of mercy," i.e. receives the pardon which mercy gives. Cp. the bold gen. in 1 Cor. ix. 21. An easy correction would be μετ' ἐλέους (substituting μετ' for ἐστιν); μετ' ἐλέους is found in Is. liv. 7. For God's simultaneous mercy and judgement, cp. Ecclus. xvi. 11, 12.

The thought is not that the poor man is compensated for his low estate by a corresponding laxity on God's part, but that necessity presses on the humble with an insistence special to their case, cp. Prov. vi. 30, for which the Judge makes allowance.

But mighty men shall be [1]searched out mightily.
For the Sovereign Lord of all will not refrain himself for 7
any *man's* person,
Neither will he reverence greatness;
Because it is he that made *both* small and great,
And alike he taketh thought for all;
But [2]strict is the scrutiny that cometh upon the powerful. 8
Unto you therefore, O princes, are my words, 9
That ye may learn wisdom and [3]fall not from the right way.

[1] Gr. *put to the test.* [2] Gr. *strong.* [3] Gr. *fall not aside.*

mighty men...mightily] For the assonance, cp. Zech. xi. 2; Prov. viii. 16 LXX.

searched out] For the Gk. verb, cp. Gen. xii. 17 LXX. Deane adduces examples of great men being severely punished for apparently light faults, e.g. Moses (Num. xx. 12); David (2 Sam. xxiv. 12); Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 17).

7. This *v.* contains a reminiscence of Dt. i. 17; cp. also Job xxxiv. 19 and Ps. lxxxii. 2.

the Sovereign Lord of all] For the title, cp. ch. viii. 3; Job v. 8 LXX. For *refrain himself*, cp. Dt. i. 17; Ex. xxiii. 21 LXX.

reverence greatness] Cp. Is. xl. 15, 17.

small and great] Cp. Dt. i. 17. The Sovereign Judge observes the rules He lays down for earthly judges. He, who made the small as truly as the great, will not pay heed to the great things He has made any more than to the small. Furthermore, they all depend on Him; is He, to whom even the greatest must look, likely to quail before any creature of His hand? Cp. Ps. l. 10—12; Prov. xxii. 2.

alike] In God's sight there is no distinction between great and small, important and unimportant: whatever is from Him is sacred for Him, Rev. xi. 18. For God's universal care, cp. Ps. civ. 27, cxlv. 9. *προνοεῖ*, "provideth," is used here (as in xiii. 16) without any reference to the philosophical doctrine of Providence (Pythagoras, Plato, the Stoics), cp. Dan. vi. 18 LXX. There is a similar passage in Jubilees v. 15, 16.

8. *strict is the scrutiny*] A verbally varied expression of 6 b: the strong shall feel the strength of the searching God, cp. St Mark xii. 40. This re-affirmation of *vv.* 5, 6 gives the writer one more opportunity of introducing an appeal to kings to obey Wisdom.

9. Cp. the call of Wisdom in Prov. viii. 4.

O princes] *τύραννοι* in LXX. means simply *kings*. For their dependence on Wisdom, cp. Prov. viii. 15, 16.

my words] Solomon is the speaker.

fall not from the right way] as in *v.* 4, by unjust judgements and personal lawlessness. The Gk. vb., *παραπίπτειν*, implies deviation from the ordained path, cp. Ps. ii. 12.

10 For they that have kept holily the things that are holy
shall *themselves* be [1]hallowed;
And they that have been taught them shall find what to
answer;
11 Set your desire therefore on my words;
Long for *them*, and ye shall be [2]trained by *their* discipline.

12 Wisdom is radiant and fadeth not away;
And easily is she beheld of them that love her,

[1] Or, *accounted holy* [2] Gr. *disciplined.*

10. *shall* themselves *be hallowed*] Nothing will satisfy the divine requirements save character, but character will stand where mere rank counts for nothing. The rule is exemplified that men become like the things they contemplate: "those who have observed the eternal sanctities shall be sanctified."

they that have been taught them] To have kept the sanctities with pious intention (ὁσίως) results in *having been taught them*, a state implying not merely an intellectual acquaintance, but a vital inner correspondence. The king's truest defence when on his trial is the man that he has become.

11. *on my words*] Cp. the invitations of Wisdom in Prov. iv. 10, 20, v. 1.

Long for them, *and ye shall be trained*] The same sequence appears in Prov. iv. 6 "Love [Wisdom], and she shall keep thee." Ye shall learn true wisdom, which is the daily practice of virtue (Deane).

Ch. VI. 12—16. The accessibility of wisdom: she loves those that love her.

12. Wisdom, the semi-personal being, is here spoken of, and not the abstract quality of wiseness. See Introd. § 9. The praise of Wisdom occupies the following chapters, and begins here with a tribute to her luminosity and the imperishableness of her nature.

radiant] Cp. Philo, *Alleg.* iii. 59, "What could be more radiant or more conspicuous than the Divine Logos?" The source of the radiance of Wisdom is given in ch. vii. 25, 26.

fadeth not away] As righteousness is immortal, so is Wisdom. They belong to the kingdom of God, two characteristics of which are light and life. For the word, cp. 1 Pet. i. 4.

easily is she beheld] The law of affinity dominates this and the succeeding *vv.* Virtue is to men as they are to her: they can only see what they bring. Cp. Prov. iii. 15 "She is easily discerned by them that draw near to her" LXX., and viii. 21; Ecclus. vi. 22 "not unto many is she manifest," and xxvii. 8. The thought appears repeatedly in St John's Gospel, x. 3, 14, xiv. 21, xviii. 37. Cp. St Matt. v. 8.

And found of them that seek her.
She forestalleth them that desire *to know her*, making herself 13
first known.
He that riseth up early to *seek* her shall have no toil, 14
For he shall find her sitting at his gates.
For to think upon her is perfectness of understanding, 15
And he that watcheth for her sake shall quickly be free
from care.
Because she goeth about, herself seeking them that are 16
worthy of her,

And found of them that seek her] There is overwhelming MS. authority (B marg. ℵA) for the insertion of this *l.* which is a variant of Prov. viii. 17 b. Cp. Ecclus. vi. 27 "seek and she shall be made known unto thee."

13. *forestalleth*] Wisdom is ever making advances. She cannot enter into men without their invitation, but she is ever seeking to dispose them to welcome her. Cp. Is. lxv. 2, 24. Cp. Philo, *Cong.* § 22, of knowledge, "she goeth out, putting envy away from her, and draweth unto her them that are well disposed"; id. *Fuga* § 25 "God goeth out to meet them, and showeth Himself unto them that desire to see Him." For the Gk. verb with infin., cp. ch. iv. 7.

14. *riseth up early*] The verb occurs commonly in LXX. both in its literal and metaphorical significance, cp. Ps. cxxvii. 2; Ecclus. iv. 12; vi. 36.

sitting at his gates] For πάρεδρος (lit. *assessor*), cp. ch. ix. 4, and Prov. i. 21, viii. 3. The man who rises early to seek for Wisdom will find his task easy. Wisdom was seeking for him, and waiting for him as he left his house.

15. *to think upon her...understanding*] Understanding (φρόνησις) is not identical with Wisdom, as in iii. 15, iv. 9, nor is it one of the four cardinal virtues mentioned in viii. 7 as one of the activities of Wisdom. It is rather a moral than an intellectual quality, being the "insight into the relations of life, and the power to turn circumstances to its own profit" (Grimm). Through the contemplation of Wisdom, a man perfects that moral understanding which enables him to make the most of life, in the highest sense.

watcheth for her sake] Cp. Prov. viii. 34. *watcheth* in its old sense of *waketh*, and so, metaphorically, of *vigilance*. There is a reminiscence in this *v.* of Ps. cxxvii. 1, 2, where also *rise up early*, *labour*, *wake* occur.

free from care] Like Wisdom herself (vii. 23). Eus. (*Praep. Ev.* 667 b) records a saying of the Alexandrian Peripatetic, Aristobulus (c. 150 B.C.). "They that follow Wisdom consistently shall be free from trouble (ἀτάραχοι) all their lives." For *care*, cp. St. Matt. xiii. 22.

16. *she goeth about,...seeking*] Cp. ch. viii. 18; Acts xiii. 11.

them that are worthy of her] *worthy* is one of the characteristic words

And in their paths she appeareth unto them graciously,
And in every purpose she meeteth them.

of this Book, cp. ch. i. 16, xviii. 4. Each human being determines his own destiny. He goes through the world finding that which belongs to him, and never getting what he does not deserve. "Our stars are in ourselves." Cp. Ecclus. xiii. 15, 16. Philo elaborates this doctrine in *Somn.* ii. §§ 5, 6 "Every man lays hold of his own"; cp. id. *Migr.* §§ 10, 11 "God draws near to give help to those who are worthy to be helped. And who are they who are worthy to be so blessed? Clearly all who love wisdom and knowledge."

in their paths] Cp. Prov. viii. 2. Deane thinks that this *l.* refers to the experiences of outer life, while the next *l.* points to the inner life of thought and purpose. Cp. Philo, *Somn.* i. § 19 "The Logos that waits upon the seeking soul anticipates it with welcomes when it despairs of itself and awaits his invisible approach."

in every purpose] Vulg. by its translation *in omni prouidentia* assigns the words to Wisdom, but the balance of the lines is best preserved by making *purpose* refer to human purpose.

she meeteth them] Cp. Philo, *Alleg.* iii. § 76 "Some souls God goes out to meet. What grace it is that He should anticipate our slowness and lead our soul forth into perfect well-doing!" With *meeteth*, cp. Prov. xxiv. 8 "death meeteth the simple" LXX. Only they can meet who belong to one another: for such, meeting is inevitable, cp. Amos iii. 3.

CH. VI. 17—21. WISDOM IS THE TRUEST TEACHER OF KINGSHIP.

vv. 17—20 contain a famous example of the logical figure, Sorites. Sorites is a cumulative series of syllogisms, in which the conclusion of each becomes the premiss of the next, until the main conclusion is reached. It is essential to the validity of the figure that each new premiss should be identical with the preceding conclusion: in this example however there is an apparent violation of the rule, since the writer with his habitual desire to avoid wearisome repetitions varies the wording of the premiss from its form as conclusion. The variation however is purely verbal. The series is:—

[Desire for Wisdom is] the beginning of Wisdom.
The beginning of Wisdom is care for discipline.
Care for discipline is love of her.
Love of her is the keeping of her laws.
The keeping of her laws is incorruption.
Incorruption brings near to God.
To be near to God is [to be a king].
Conclusion. Desire for wisdom makes men kings.

The nearest approach to Sorites in the Bible seems to be Hos. ii. 21—23; Rom. iv. 3—5, x. 13—15; 2 Pet. i. 5—7.

For [1]her [2]true beginning is desire of discipline; 17
And the care for discipline is love *of her*;
And love *of her* is observance of her laws; 18
And to give heed to *her* laws confirmeth incorruption;
And incorruption [3]bringeth near unto God; 19
So then desire of wisdom promoteth to a kingdom. 20

[1] Or, *her beginning is the true desire* [2] Gr. *truest.*
[3] Gr. *maketh to be near.*

17. *true beginning*] Cp. Ps. cxi. 10; Prov. i. 7, ix. 10. The requirements of the Sorites decide that *true* goes with *beginning*. For *discipline*, cp. Clem. Rom. § 56, which deals with the blessings which flow from the Divine discipline.

care] *Care* is merely a verbal variant for *desire*. The virile moral sense which welcomes correction answers, in the spiritual sphere, to the passion for Wisdom.

18. *observance of her laws*] This seems to be based on Ex. xx. 6: cp. Ecclus. ii. 15 "They that love [the Lord] will keep his ways," cp. id. vi. 26. The idea is reproduced in St John xiv. 15 "If ye love me ye will keep my commandments," and *vv.* 21, 24 and 1 John v. 3.

to give heed to her *laws*] *To give heed* is a poetic variation for *observance*. For the idea, cp. St Matt. xix. 17; St John viii. 12. Philo, *Cong.* § 16 "He lives the true life who walks in the...commandment of God, so that the practices of the ungodly would be death." Those who would have the assurance of incorruption must rest not on feeling which is often either absent or deceptive, but on the solid ground of moral fact. The validity of this argument is admitted in 1 John i. 9 and iii. 14, in both of which cases it is employed.

19. *incorruption bringeth near unto God*] The word ἀφθαρσία is used of moral incorruption. The argument of the preceding line is not that obedience to Wisdom confers incorruption, but that it gives assurance of its possession, showing the obedient to which Kingdom they belong, that of righteousness and the living God, as distinguished from that of sin and Hades. The Book of Wisdom postulates that men are born for life, and that only wilful sin brings them into the power of death. Similarly, in this line *incorruption* makes men near to God, not by making them what they were not by birth, but by realising itself naturally in them. Cp. Philo, *Fuga* § 11 "This is the glorious goal of a deathless life, to be held in a bodiless, fleshless passion and love for God."

One step in the Sorites must be understood, viz. *to be near God is to be a king*. Spiritual kingship involves such lordship over outward things as liberates the spirit permanently from the passions of fear, desire, regret, pride, which outward things arouse in hearts that are in subjection to them.

20. *So then*] The main conclusion of the Sorites is the premiss of the first syllogism combined with the conclusion of the last. The

21 If therefore ye delight in thrones and sceptres, ye princes of peoples,
Honour wisdom, that ye may reign for ever.
22 But what wisdom is, and how she came into being, I will declare,
And I will not hide mysteries from you;

kingship here in question is spiritual. Cp. Eccl. iv. 13, 14, and Philo, *Agr.* § 10 "Moses gives the name of shepherd to the wise, who alone are really kings," and *Post. C.* § 41 "The wise man is alone free and a ruler, though his body may acknowledge a thousand lords." Cp. Zeno, in Diog. La. ii. 7, 122 "The wise are not only free, but kings; their kingship is an irresponsible rule, which could stand in no other case than in that of the wise."

promoteth] Wisdom is called the path to God in Philo, *Quod D.* §§ 30, 34.

21. *If therefore ye delight*] Solomon argues, "You love your external kingship with its symbols of authority: honour Wisdom then, and you shall enter upon a higher kingship." Ps.-Solomon is not urging the cult of Wisdom, in order that kings may find their power consolidated, but that they may covet a different class of power.

Honour wisdom] Cp. Prov. viii. 15, 16, and Philo, *All.* iii. § 58 "This is the Divine law, to honour virtue for her own sake."

for ever] With a moral rather than a temporal significance. Cp. "way everlasting," Ps. cxxxix. 24.

Ch. VI. 22—25. Solomon will unfold to his readers the whole truth concerning Wisdom.

It is uncertain what is the range of the writer's undertaking. Is he pledging himself to a revelation of the nature and origin of Wisdom absolutely, or is he concerned merely to show how Wisdom has manifested herself in connection with him?

The promise of these verses sounds unconditional, but the performance is very limited. The difficulty has been widely felt, and variously explained. Considering how little is said about the origin of Wisdom (nothing except in ch. vii. 25, 26), attention being fixed upon the secondary effects of her dealings with man; and seeing that Solomon is occupied throughout chs. vii.—ix. with his own experiences and his personal petitions, it is not impossible that *vv.* 22—25 contain a promise by Solomon to disclose what Wisdom has been *for him*. But more probably, ch. vii. 22—27 is a sufficient fulfilment of the undertaking of *v.* 22 a.

22. *what wisdom is*] See vii. 22—27.

how she came into being] Vulg. *quomodo facta est.* Ewald would understand μοι, *how she began for me*, thus accounting for the personal history of vii.—ix. But see ch. vii. 25; cp. Prov. viii. 24.

mysteries] *sc.* the mysteries of Wisdom, cp. "the mysteries of God,"

But I will trace *her* out [1]from the beginning of creation,
And bring the knowledge of her into clear light,
And I will not pass by the truth;
Neither indeed will I take [2]pining envy for my companion 23
in the way,
Because [3]envy shall have no fellowship with wisdom.
But a multitude of wise men is salvation to the world, 24
And an understanding king is tranquillity to *his* people.

[1] Or, *from her first beginning* [2] Gr. *wasted.* [3] Gr. *this.*

ii. 22. The *mysteries* of Wisdom mean all the knowledge of her that may be communicated to her initiated votaries (vii. 22—27); all the teachings she possesses and imparts (vii. 17—22); all the blessings including immortality which she mediates.

from the beginning of creation] See ch. x. for the operations of Wisdom from the dawn of human history.

the knowledge of her] Cp. ch. viii.

23. *take...for my companion*] Note the assonance between συνοδεύσω and παροδεύσω in *v.* 22.

pining envy] *Envy* (or *grudgingness*) is here personified, and is depicted as suffering from the wasting complaint which attacks the envious man. Solomon will not associate himself with the niggardly spirit which withholds knowledge to the detriment of the hearer. In this and the prec. *v.* there is a reference to the sophists, or paid teachers who had recourse to obscurantism in order to safeguard their prospective profits. For the practice of the sophists, cp. Philo, *Post. C.* § 44 "The sophists under the influence of greed and envy stunt the natures of their pupils by keeping back much of what they ought to tell them, and refusing to surrender their prospects of future gain: but virtue is generous and open-handed, and would use every faculty she possesses to give help."

envy shall have no fellowship with wisdom] Solomon is the companion of Wisdom: her nature is so opposed to greed, that if he would continue with her, he must be free from even the suspicion of it. This *v.* makes the nearest approach to a personal touch, the author, elsewhere veiled effectually behind the person of Solomon, stepping forward to defend himself against charges such as those of Philo.

24. The writer has the public welfare at heart, and accordingly refuses to regard himself as holding any private monopoly of truth. If the world is better in proportion to the number of its wise men, and a wise king is the security of his people, he will impart his knowledge as widely as possible.

salvation to the world] A familiar idea with Philo, cp. *Sacr.* § 37 "the wise man is the ransom of the foolish"; id. *Migr.* § 21 "the righteous man is the prop of the human race." Cp. St Matt. v. 13, 14.

tranquillity] Cp. Prov. xxix. 4; Ecclus. x. 2, 3. The Gk. word is

25 Wherefore be disciplined by my words, and *thereby* shall ye
profit.

7 I myself also am [1]mortal, like to all,
And am sprung from one born of the earth, *the man* first
formed,
2 And in the womb of a mother was I moulded into flesh in
the time of ten months,

[1] Many authorities read *a mortal man*.

commonly used of stable conditions of government, cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 6; Clem. Rom. lxi. 1. Grimm quotes Plato's dictum (*Rep.* v. 473) that philosophers should be kings and kings philosophers.

25. *be disciplined*] Cp. *vv.* 9, 11. The final appeal in what is practically the introduction to the central division of the book.

CH. VII. 1—6. SOLOMON, THE PROVERBIALLY WISE MAN, MIGHT HAVE BEEN THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY DISPOSED BY NATURE TOWARDS WISDOM. BUT HE WAS OF COMMON FLESH AND BLOOD. HE WAS THUS RICHLY ENDOWED ONLY BECAUSE HE PRAYED FOR WISDOM.

1. Solomon encourages his hearers by the thought that he started from precisely the same point as they do. He shows firstly that his place in the scale of creation was identical with theirs, and secondly that the circumstances attending his birth were completely normal.

mortal] If marg. *a mortal man* (following B^{ab} and A) is right, Solomon declares himself to be (1) mortal, (2) man, (3) like to all, (4) child of Adam. It is interesting to note the contrast between the insistence upon Solomon's human origin and normal birth, and the teaching of the Gospels concerning the Divine origin yet normal birth of Jesus Christ.

sprung from...the man *first formed*] The term *protoplast* (found also in ch. x. 1) seems to have been coined by the writer from Gen. ii. 7, "the Lord God formed...(ἔπλασεν)," and was used of Adam and Eve by Irenaeus and Clem. Alex., cp. 1 Tim. ii. 13.

born of the earth] Adam is called "the first man, the earth-born" in Philo, *Opif.* § 47.

2. *in the womb...was I moulded*] Cp. Ps. cxxxix. 15; Eccl. xi. 5. Solomon was *flesh*, i.e. material rather than sinful. See Davidson, *Theol. of O.T.* pp. 191, 192. The man is here identified with his body, which when formed in the womb, received the "loan" (ch. xv. 8) of an already existing soul.

in the time of ten months] i.e. lunar months. Cp. Verg. *Ecl.* iv. 61 "Matri longa decem tulerant fastidia menses," and 4 Macc. xvi. 7, though in 2 Macc. vii. 27 the period is the more usual one of nine months. Nine calendar months are about equal to ten lunar months.

Being compounded in likeness of the seed of man and pleasure
that came with sleep.
And I also when I was born, drew in the common air, 3
And fell upon the kindred earth,
Uttering like all, for my first voice, the selfsame wail:
In swaddling clothes was I nursed, and with *watchful* cares. 4
For no king had any other first beginning; 5
But all men have one entrance into life, and a like de- 6
parture.

[1] Gr. *of like qualities.* [2] Gr. *in.*

in blood] Cp. Job x. 10; 1 Macc. vi. 19, and St John i. 13 "born, not of blood." The phrase stands for all the material substance contributed by the mother to the growth of the unborn.

3 *when born*] The two conditions of the first moments were completely normal: *born* means only e. g. he was in infancy and youth, but his experience was *I*. *Drawing* was the breath, to those in every man's ear, he *fell* upon every man's earth, he uttered every man's panting cry.

fell upon] Cp. Is. xxxv. 10; G. A. Smith in *Exp. Bible* "neither have I ceased to fall [R.V. marg. came down, R.V. text).

the kindred earth] If *kindred* is right Solomon means that Earth was his mother as Job speaks of shame and that he was only common clay. But the sense of the poet and surrounding phrases requires *ignominious* should mean something like "that nothing was more lowly at the hands of all her creatures." The point of the antithesis is not to show that Solomon was the earth most ruined but Solomon and other men as equally base as N.T. *ἄφρονες* xi. 19; James iv. 17, meaning "not yet promoted." The word is used here in a very unusual sense. Grimm's suggestion that it means "unborn" (Heb. Gr. ii. 19) will not do as the word must have a passive signification. "Imperial" would require a different assignment of accent.

Uttering, like all.] Text reads with B. *τὸν ὁμοῖον πάντων*. For the sense cp. Phil. ii. 6.

Farrar quotes Sir Wm. Jones (from the Persian):

"On mother's knee, a naked new-born child
Sad thou didst weep, while all around thee smiled"

4. Now the quaint exhibition of swaddling clothes and cares. Solomon in his latest years experienced the ordinary human needs. Cp. St Luke ii. 7. The touch of humour recalls the famous speech of the nurse in the *Choephori* of Aeschylus. Cp. 4 Macc. xvi. 8.

5 *no king*] i.e. no man however great.

first beginning] Vulg. *naturalem initium*, cp. ch. vi. 22, lit. "beginning of birth." There is a reference to v. 2.

6. *a like departure*] Cp. Eccl. ix. 3.

7 For this cause I prayed, and understanding was given me:
I called upon *God*, and there came to me a spirit of wisdom.
8 I preferred her before sceptres and thrones,
And riches I esteemed nothing in comparison of her.
9 Neither did I liken to her any priceless gem,
Because all the gold *of the earth* in her presence is a little sand,
And silver shall be accounted as clay before her.
10 Above health and comeliness I loved her,
And I chose to have her rather than light,

Ch. VII. 7—14. Solomon's estimate of Wisdom.

7. Having no natural advantage over other men, he took the course open to all alike, and prayed, see ch. viii. 21, and ix. Cp. James i. 5.

understanding] See 1 Kings iii. 11, 12. The Gk. word (φρόνησις) is here merely a poetical variant for wisdom, cp. 1 Kings iv. 29: the parallelism of the clauses does not contrast the ideas but repeats them. *Was given, came to me* show how completely Solomon depended on inspiration for his wisdom. *Was given*, cp. ch. viii. 21.

called upon God] For the Gk. verb without object expressed, cp. Acts vii. 59.

spirit of wisdom] Cp. Ex. xxxi. 3; Lk. xi. 13; Eph. i. 17. Rightly "*a* spirit of w.," wisdom being the subjective wisdom, answering to *understanding* in prec. *l.*

8. *sceptres*] Solomon contrasts himself with the kings of ch. vi. 21. Wisdom will brook no rivals: she must be placed first.

riches] Cp. 1 Kings iii. 11. See also Job xxviii. 15—19; Prov. iii. 14, 15, viii. 10, 11; Ps. xix. 10, cxix. 72, 127.

9. *priceless gem*] lit. *unpriced*, 3 Macc. iii. 23; cp. Prov. iii. 15, viii. 11. Farrar quotes *Richard III.* i. 2.

> "I thought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks,
> Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels."

all the gold of the earth] Cp. Philo, *Cong.* § 20 "Every deed wrought according to wisdom is more precious than gold."

in her presence] ἐν ὄψει αὐτῆς, cp. ch. iii. 4, xv. 19. Vulgate has *in comparatione*, not quite accurately.

silver...as clay] The comparison recalls the depreciation in the value of silver in Solomon's reign, 1 Kings x. 21; 2 Chron. i. 15.

10. *Above health and comeliness*] I would rather be wise than well. The sentiment has a flavour of asceticism hardly true in the mouth of the real Solomon. On the importance attached to health, see Ecclus. xxx. 15 "Health and a good constitution are better than all gold, and a strong body than wealth without measure. There is no riches better than health of body."

I chose] The Gk. verb is the classical word for deliberate moral choice.

Because her bright shining is never laid to sleep.
But with her there came to me all good things together, 11
And in her hands innumerable riches:
And I rejoiced over *them* all because wisdom leadeth them; 12
Though I knew not that she was the [1]mother of them.
As I learned without guile, I impart without grudging; 13
I do not hide her riches.

[1] Some authorities read *first origin*.

rather than light] Again an exaggerated profession, if literally taken. The next *cl.*, however, shows the meaning to be that he could find nothing so stable and unvarying as Wisdom, not even the light of day.

never laid to sleep] Cp. *vv.* 29, 30. There is no night that alternates with Wisdom, as with the day. Wisdom needs no sleep as does the wearied sun. Philo, *Migr.* § 8 "Wisdom is the archetypal light of God, whose image and copy is the sun." φῶς in 10 b is the light-source, contrasted with φέγγος in 10 c, the light-rays.

11. *with her there came*] Prov. viii. 21, x. 22. For the historical reference, cp. 2 Chron. i. 12; Ecclus. xlvii. 18.

in her hands...riches] Cp. Prov. iii. 16.

12. What he sacrificed for Wisdom's sake, he received back with joy in Wisdom's name. He loved what she brought him, and he had her to direct him in the use of it. The ideal Solomon is seen here, but the real appears in Ecclus. xlvii. 19, 20.

Though I knew not] i.e. when he prayed. There was no ulterior motive in his cry for Wisdom: his sole desire was for spiritual benefits.

the mother of them] Text reads with A γενέτιν, while ℵB have γένεσιν, as marg. *first origin*. The original may even have been the masc. form γενέτην, which was changed by some over-sensitive scribe. For Philo (*Fuga* § 9) has "Let us not pay too much heed to words, but say that wisdom, the daughter of God, is male and a father, begetting in souls learning, education, fair deeds." If γενέτιν ("mother") is read, cp. Philo, *Ebr.* § 8, where Wisdom is called the bride of God, and spiritual mother of all things, and of God's first-born son, the world. Wisdom comes to Solomon, leading (ἠγεῖται) her children-blessings, and giving them their value by letting them accompany her train.

13. *learned*] *learned* is in direct contrast with *knew not*, *v.* 12. What he learnt was what he had been ignorant of, viz. that Wisdom was the All-mother. *Without guile*. What he attained in this way, he will count no robber's prize, but will transmit without grudging. He will not exploit his spiritual privileges.

without grudging] Cp. ch. vi. 23, and 1 Pet. iv. 10. Philo (*Gig.* § 9) writes "Is not their disgrace obvious, who call themselves wise, and yet barter wisdom, like auctioneers in the market?"

do not hide] Cp. ch. vi. 22, and Ps. xl. 9, 10.

14 For she is unto men a treasure that faileth not,
And they that use it [1]obtain friendship with God,
Commended *to him* [2]by the gifts which they through discipline present *to him.*

15 But to me may God give to speak [3]with judgement,

[1] Gr. *prepare for themselves.* [2] Gr. *for the sake of the presents that* come *of discipline.* [3] Or, *according to* his *mind* Or, *according to* my *mind*

14. Wisdom belongs to the spiritual sphere, and can purchase for men the friendship of God, by the results she enables them to achieve. There is a singular likeness of tone and language between this passage and St Luke xvi. 9.

that faileth not] Cp. St Luke xii. 33 ἀνέκλειπτον.

they that use it] For the unusual acc. with χρῆσθαι, cp. 1 Cor. vii. 31, and for the sense, cp. 1 Tim. iii. 13.

obtain friendship] The Gk. verb (gnomic aor.) is a colourless word, cp. ch. xiv. 1. For friendship with God, see *v.* 27; Is. xli. 8; James ii. 23. Philo (*Abr.* § 46) has "God, loving a man for his faith in Him, gives him a pledge in return, confirming by an oath His promise of gifts, no longer speaking as God to man, but conversing with him as a friend with an acquaintance."

Commended] For the Gk. verb. cp. 1 Macc. xii. 43; Rom. xvi. 1.

by the gifts which they through discipline present to him] lit. *gifts from discipline.* Cp. ch. iii. 14. They commend themselves to God by deeds so prompted by discipline that they are God-like in character, and accordingly are offerings to God well-pleasing to Him. Such spiritual gifts are compared to those which recommend a visitor to an Eastern monarch.

This seems to be the sense required by the prec. words, but the more lit. translation of marg. offers another possibility. "*Men are commended* to God *for the sake of* (i.e. that *they*, not God, may receive) *the presents that* come *of discipline.*" This rendering is more true to the Gk., and emphasizes the bounty of God, cp. Philo, *Post. C.* § 43 "God practises a certain economy with His gifts, withdrawing the earlier ones before men can become surfeited with them, and substituting continually new gifts for old. He measures His gifts to suit the capacity of the receivers." For *discipline*, which is one aspect of Wisdom, cp. ch. i. 5.

Ch. VII. 15—22a. Solomon's encyclopædic wisdom, and the acknowledged source of it.

15. *to me may God give*] So the best MSS. (δῴη). A.V. *hath granted* follows an inferior reading. As Solomon approaches the climax of his task, in true classical style he invokes the aid of heaven. Cp. "Musa, mihi memora causas."

And to conceive thoughts worthy of what [1]hath been given *me*;
Because himself is one that guideth even wisdom and that correcteth the wise.
For in his hand are both we and our words; 16
All understanding, and *all* acquaintance with divers crafts.
For himself gave me an unerring knowledge of the things 17
that are,
To know the constitution of the world, and the operation of the elements;

[1] Some authorities read *is said.*

to speak with judgement] The Gk. κατὰ γνώμην can in this connection bear several meanings, but the first marginal alternative is to be preferred, *according to* his *mind*, i.e. God's.

thoughts worthy] Text does not quite represent the Greek, which is "to think in a manner worthy of what hath been given," i.e. to use my talents faithfully. The theme deserves to find a prophet adequately prepared; an unfit medium can misrepresent the divinest subject. Text follows B and Vulgate in reading δεδομένων; marg. *is said* gives the reading of ℵA λεγομένων, which (though supported by the Syr., Arm. and Ar. versions) Grimm shows to be a gloss.

Because himself is one] The reason why he appeals to God. God is the ultimate source, even for Wisdom.

that guideth even wisdom] Cp. St John viii. 28, 29. For ὁδηγὸς "guide" used literally, see ch. xviii. 3; 1 Macc. iv. 2; 2 Macc. v. 15.

that correcteth] Vulg. *emendator*. Wisdom only needs direction; wise men make mistakes, which require correction.

16. *in his hand*] Derived from God and dependent on Him, cp. 1 Chr. xxix. 12; Job xii. 10; Ecclus. x. 4, 5.

and our words] Cp. Ex. iv. 11.

All understanding] i.e. practical wisdom.

acquaintance with divers crafts] Ability to design and skill to execute. Cp. Ex. xxxi. 3—5, of Bezaleel.

17. *For himself gave me*] A reiteration with special reference to Solomon of the general truth enunciated in *v.* 15. *Himself* is again the emphatic word.

knowledge of the things that are] i.e. of "the sum of things." "A knowledge of nature" is roughly what is intended.

the constitution of the world] The Gk. (σύστασις) means the composition of the world, i.e. the principles of its harmonious self-consistence (Plato, *Timaeus* 32 E), or the organisation of the elements, cp. Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 57 "The four principles and powers of which the world is composed (συνέστηκεν)."

the elements] i.e. earth, air, fire, water (cp. ch. xiii. 2, xix. 18), the four elements into which substance was first resolved by Empedocles,

18 The beginning and end and middle of times,
The alternations of the solstices and the changes of seasons,
19 The circuits of years and the [1]positions of stars;
20 The natures of living creatures and the ragings of wild beasts,

[1] Or, *constellations*

who styled them "roots of all," see Zeller, *Outlines*, p. 72. Plato was the first to suggest the name στοιχεῖα (*Theaet.* 201 E, *Tim.* 48 B), which passed down through the Stoics into Judaeo-Alexandrinism and the system of Philo. So familiar were all *literati* at Alexandria with Greek philosophical terms, that the writer of Wisdom may have used them freely, even if possessed of no first-hand acquaintance with Greek philosophy.

18. Chronology and astronomy. *Times* does not refer either to historical periods or to eschatology, but to "days, months, and years," see Philo, *Opif.* § 19. *Beginning*, *middle*, and *end* occur together in Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 25 in connection with the perfect number. The study of the mystic properties of numbers was keenly pursued at Alexandria, and accordingly a reference may be seen here to the relation between the regulation of the calendar and mathematical calculations. Philo points to this in *Opif.* § 19 "Time teaches the nature of number."

solstices...seasons] The words for *solstices* (τροπαί, lit. turnings) and *changes of seasons* (μεταβολαί) occur together frequently in Philo (*de Cong.* § 19; *Somn.* i. § 3; *Q. R. D. H.* § 50). The former is the classical word for the *solstices*: Philo writes of the summer and winter solstices in *Q. R. D. H.* § 27: for his explanation of the phenomenon, see § 29.

19. *circuits of years*] The expression is used by Philo (*Somn.* i. § 3) for the succession of seasons which complete the year. Grimm renders by the indeterminate *Jahreswechsel*. Perhaps we should render "cycles."

positions of stars] Probably as marg., their relative positions, i.e. as constellations, cp. Philo, *Cong.* § 24 "the company of stars moving round in their ordered ranks," although "their positions at various times of the year" (as in text) is possible. Deane sees a reference to solar and lunar cycles and methods of intercalation, whereby sacred and civil reckonings were determined. Possibly there is a reference to astrology, or to the predictions of eclipses (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 61).

20. Zoology, psychology, botany. Philo (*Q. R. D. H.* § 22) speaks of plants and animals, as the natures which lie midway between heaven and earth. Josephus writes "Solomon spoke parables about all sorts of living creatures; for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures."

The natures of living creatures] He knew the habits and ways of animals generally. Deane notes allusions to the life and habits of animals in Prov. vi. 6—8, xxvi. 2, 11, xxx. 15, 19, 25—31.

the ragings of wild beasts] *Ragings* plur. partly because of the plural subject "wild beasts," partly to indicate the varying expressions of their courage and ferocity.

The violences of [1]winds and the thoughts of men,
The diversities of plants and the virtues of roots:
All things that are either secret or manifest I learned, 21
For she that is the artificer of all things taught me, *even* 22
wisdom.

[1] Or, *spirits*

The violences of winds] Vulgate *uim uentorum*. There can be little doubt that text and Vulgate are right. Cp. ch. iv. 4 and a similar passage in Diog. Laert. *Heraclitus* ix. 1, 6. The phrase itself occurs in Philo, *Opif.* § 19, which suggests that the meaning here is that Solomon could predict storms and tides.

Grimm makes an interesting suggestion that as Solomon is taking various objects in pairs, πνευμάτων βίας should go with *thoughts of men*, and mean (see marg.) *spirits* whether good or evil, including human spirits. He quotes Jos. *Ant.* 8. 2. 5 "God enabled S. to learn that skill which expels demons, a science useful and sanative to men." Cp. R. Browning's *Abt Vogler*, which reflects the power over spirits ascribed to Solomon by Eastern legends. But βίας would be an unlikely word in combination with πν. in this sense.

thoughts of men] His intuition enabled him to forecast the working of men's minds. Something less abstract than psychology (Deane) is intended, viz. that sensitiveness of perception which enabled him to decide perplexing cases (1 Kings iii. 16—28), or to tell the Queen of Sheba "all her questions," 1 Kings x. 3.

diversities of plants] The phrase occurs in Philo, *Somn.* i. § 35. The various species of plants, and their uses in medicine.

the virtues of roots] Josephus (*Ant.* 8. 2. 5) tells of a root (known to Solomon) with which he saw a Jewish exorcist, in presence of Vespasian and Titus, draw out an evil spirit through the nostrils of a demoniac. For the virtues inherent in herbs, cp. Ecclus. xxxviii. 4—6, and for Solomon's legendary lore in botany and natural history, cp. 1 Kings iv. 33.

21. *secret or manifest*] Facts and the true deductions from them; natural objects and their laws, properties and uses; the sequences of cause and effect; portents and their obscure significance: Solomon was made master of these, in all their subtle complexities.

22. *she that is the artificer of all things*] Cp. ch. viii. 6, xiv. 2; Philo, *Det. Pot.* § 16 "Wisdom, through whom the sum of things was completed." Two points should be noted, (1) God is represented as making nothing directly: the agent of His creative will was Wisdom (ch. ix. 1, 2), who is therefore called universal artificer. (2) In line with this aloofness of God, this verse tells that *Wisdom* was Solomon's teacher, although in *v.* 15 he writes "may God give me...for Himself is guide," and in *v.* 17 "Himself gave me an unerring knowledge." God thus is the teacher because *qui facit per alium facit per se*; but the writer rarely attributes unmediated action to God. A similar identification is seen in Acts vii. 30, 33. For Wisdom as teacher, see ch. ix. 17.

For there is in her a spirit quick of understanding, holy,

CH. VII. 22 B—CH. VIII. 1. THE NATURE OF WISDOM.

22—24, THE QUALITIES OF WISDOM: 25, 26, HER DERIVATION: 27—VIII. 1, HER ACTIVITIES.

Wisdom is described in a series of twenty-one epithets. The number is no doubt intentional, 7 and 3 being sacred numbers: 7 symbolised completeness, while 3 was the Divine number. Similar series may be seen in St James iii. 17, 18, of the "Wisdom from above"; and in Philo, *Sacr.* § 5 where 11 companions of pleasure and 34 of virtue are named, and as many as 147 epithets are lavished upon the lover of pleasure. Cleanthes named 26 characteristics of "the good," Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 6. 72. It may be that this passage, which is the heart of the book, won for it the name of Πανάρετος Σοφία, "the Wisdom which comprises all virtues" (Introd. § 1). Is Wisdom with her many names to be identified with the "Logos of the many names" of the Stoics? Philo calls W. the "many-named" (*All.* i. § 14), but if there is to be an identification, it must be for a different reason. Bois, *Origines*, pp. 230—260, argues that, although in the flux of Alexandrian thought it is difficult to arrive at any definiteness, nevertheless Wisdom is identified by Pseudo-Solomon with so many of the concepts (Justice, Providence, Power) with which the Logos was identified by the Stoics, that their provinces overlap and almost coincide. But there is probably no conscious identification: for the writer of Wisdom, Wisdom was the rallying-point around which the floating conceptions gathered which in Greek philosophy had made the Logos their centre (Introd. § 9).

22. *For there is in her a spirit*] *For* explains how it was that Wisdom taught him. The reading of text *in her* is that of ℵB, supported by four versions. A reads αὐτὴ ("For she is a spirit"), but the old Latin, which supports ℵB, shows that ἐν αὐτῇ is at least very early. The MS. evidence requires that ἐν should be retained. ἐν αὐτῇ may either be rendered as in text, the *spirit* being the essential life-principle of Wisdom (cp. Job xxxii. 8) and therefore identical with her; or it may be read as ἐν αὑτῇ "Wisdom is in herself a spirit," cp. *v.* 27. The former rendering is to be preferred.

quick of understanding] The word νοερὸς is a technical Stoic term, denoting "possessed of mind." It indicates (not degree of mental capacity, but) the possession of mental faculty in distinction from non-possession of it. The Stoics taught that there was a "rational" world-soul, the Logos, of which men are emanations

holy] For *holy spirit* as synonym of Wisdom, see ch. ix. 17. In neither case is there any thought of the Third Person of the Trinity.

The original significance of *holy* was not ethical so much as metaphysical or ceremonial, so that anything divine was "holy." But later, as the ethical side of the Being of God became more clearly realized,

[1]Alone in kind, manifold,
Subtil, freely moving,
Clear in utterance, unpolluted,
Distinct, unharmed,
Loving what is good, keen, unhindered,

[1] Gr. *Sole-born.*

holy gained in moral content until it came to denote especially the morally good. See Davidson, *Theol. of O.T.* p. 148. *Holy* has a moral significance here, cp. Philo, *Fuga* § 35. *Holy spirit* occurs only three times in O.T. (Ps. li. 11; Is. lxiii. 10, 11).

Alone in kind] The meaning of μονογενὲς must be determined by its contrast with *manifold*. Just as the Stoics believed in one world-soul with countless manifestations, so the author teaches that Wisdom is unique yet manifold. For the Greek word, cp. St John i. 14; and Clem. Rom. xxv. of the phoenix. Grimm renders "sole in its kind, existing only in one example," and cites the analogous antithesis of the One Spirit and His diverse gifts, in 1 Cor. xii. 11.

For *manifold*, cp. Heb. i. 1 and Philo, *All.* iii. 59, where the Logos is compared to a coriander seed, of which "gardeners say it can be cut into minute fragments, every one of which can be sown as successfully as if it were the original seed: so is the Logos, beneficial all through and in every part."

subtil] The Gk. λεπτὸν is used of the manna in Ex. xvi. 14 ff., meaning *thin, fine*. Philo (*All.* iii. 59) applies it to the Logos in the sense of minuteness, transparency, purity. The thought here is of a being altogether spiritual in essence.

freely moving] Cp. ὀξυκίνητος "swiftly moving" (of the Logos) in Philo, *Cher.* § 9; and *v.* 24. Farrar cites an old gloss, which makes it mean almost *ubiquitous*.

clear in utterance] Vulg. *disertus*. For τρανὸς, cp. ch. x. 21, and Is. xxxv. 6. Wisdom, who makes eloquent, is herself eloquent. Others render *penetrating*.

unpolluted] Being possessed of creative purity, she cannot contract impurity.

distinct] Giving no uncertain sound, as a moral guide.

unharmed] i.e. not liable to suffering or injury, cp. Zeno, in Diog. Laert. vii. 72, 147, "God can be touched by no harm," in contrast with Matter, which the Stoics called "passible," cp. Philo, *Opif.* § 2 παθητόν.

loving what is good] In Philo, *Sacr.* § 5, goodness is one of thirty-four qualities attending upon Virtue, who describes herself as a "hater of evil."

keen] Cp. Heb. iv. 12. Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 26, has "God cuts... with His Logos which acts upon all things like a knife."

Wisdom is keen like a knife, and therefore penetrating, and in her activities is *unhindered*. She divides, arranges, and unites Matter.

Beneficent, 23loving toward man,
Stedfast, sure, free from care,
All-powerful, all-surveying,
And penetrating through all spirits
That are quick of understanding, pure, most subtil:
24 For wisdom is more mobile than any motion;
Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness.

Beneficent] See ch. x. 10. Clem. R. § lix. calls God the one benefactor of spirits.

23. *loving toward man*] Cp. ch. i. 6, xii. 19. This quality is one of those named by Philo (*Sacr.* § 5), as attending on Virtue.

This and the preceding word form a pair: *philanthropic* denotes the inward disposition of good will, of which *beneficent* implies the practical manifestation.

free from care] Cp. ch. vi. 15. Wisdom is self-contained and self-sufficing, and is therefore free from worldly care. Her lofty interests make her *sure and steadfast*, leaving her undistracted by the appeal of created things. For a commentary on the word, cp. M. Arnold's lyric "Self-dependence."

all-powerful] Cp. ch. xi. 17, xviii. 15. The rest of *vv.* 23, 24 emphasize the universality of Wisdom.

all-surveying] Cp. ch. i. 6—10 and Prov. xv. 3. A similar word is applied to God in 2 Macc. ix. 5; Ep. Polyc. vii.; Clem. Rom. lxiv. Cp. Philo, *All.* iii. § 59 "The word of God is very keen of vision, so that he can survey all things."

all spirits] *spirits* in the widest sense, whether angelic or human, and the latter whether incarnate or discarnate.

Penetrating through indicates a very close spiritual intimacy: but Wisdom cannot enter into all spirits, but into those only which have the necessary affinity with her, viz. those which are *quick of understanding* (men, as self-determining and self-conscious agents), *pure* (angels, as immaterial beings), *subtil* (men, in so far as they are refined through purity).

24. *more mobile*] This clause is closely connected with the preceding, and explains the penetrating power of Wisdom.

She is like the air, whose omnipresence explained or suggested to the Stoics the Divine omnipresence. To *pervade* and to *penetrate* were technical words in Stoic philosophy for describing the diffusion of the world-soul, cp. Diog. La. vii. 70, 138, 139, 147. The reason for all this is her *pureness*, the simple uncompoundedness of her essence: there is in her nothing gross or of the earth. Her *pureness* is metaphysical rather than moral. For *mobile*, cp. Philo's description of the Logos in *Cher.* § 9, and Thales in Diog. La. i. 9, 35 "Mind is the speediest thing there is: it courses through all things."

For she is a [1]breath of the power of God, 25
And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty;
Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, 26

[1] Gr. *vapour.*

vv. 25, 26. The derivation of Wisdom.

The emphasis in these *vv.* lies not so much upon *breath, effluence, effulgence, mirror, image,* as upon *power, glory, light, working, goodness.* As that which is born of spirit *is* spirit, so Wisdom as emanating from the Divine possessor of these attributes, possesses them herself by inherent right. *Power, glory, light, working, goodness* are part of her very essence. Her origin only emphasizes her personal prerogatives: her derivation is of little importance, unless derivation connotes identity.

25. *a breath*] Cp. Eccius. xxiv. 3. As an exhalation of the Divine power, Wisdom is and has Divine power, cp. ch. i. 3.

effluence] Cp. Philo, *Fuga* § 9 "Wisdom is the virgin daughter of God, of inviolate and stainless nature because of her own nobleness and of the honour of him who begat her." *Effluence* denotes the outflow of either water or light. For the former, cp. Ecclus. i. 9; Enoch xlix. 1 "Wisdom...poured out like water"; Philo, *All.* i. 19, of a stream flowing out of a river: for the latter, which is to be preferred (see Grimm, p. 160), cp. Ez. i. 13 (Aquila), and Athenag. (*Apol.* x.), who calls the Holy Spirit the "effluence of God," being to Him as its rays are to the sun. The word *clear* is used here, like *pure* above, to emphasize the immateriality of *Wisdom,* cp. Philo, *Opif.* § 8 "No sensible object is *clear.*" There is nothing in her to mar the *glory* (i.e. glory of light, cp. next *v.*) which she inherits. Wisdom has a glory of her own, cp. ch. ix. 11.

nothing defiled] Being immaterial, and also partaker of the divine glory, she has nothing in her that can contract stain. The Gk. verb denotes an insidious approach on the part of defilement: what cannot conquer her might seek to beguile her. But her nature, and not her mere habit is *unpolluted, v.* 22. Cp. Philo, *Fuga* § 9 on prec. *l.*

26. *effulgence*] It is natural to see here the source of the expressions applied to the Son in Heb. i. 3. But both *effulgence* and *image* (χαρακτὴρ), cp. Philo, *Plant.* § 5, are words of common occurrence in Philo, and consequently the borrowing is hardly more certain in this case than in ch. v. 17—19. The meaning of ἀπαύγασμα here is disputed. It means either the light emitted from a luminary, or the reflection of the luminary. Philo, *Opif.* § 51, *Plant.* § 12, uses ἀπαύγ. as "reflection," and the context makes this rendering the more probable. In this *v.* it is coupled with *mirror* and *image,* with both of which "reflection" is more allied than "effulgence." Again, there is a contrast between *v.* 25 and *v.* 26, the former emphasizing a relation to God by emanation, the latter by reflection.

And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
And an image of his goodness.
27 And she, being one, hath power to do all things;
And remaining in herself, reneweth all things:
And from generation to generation passing into holy souls

everlasting light] For God as light, see Is. lx. 19, 20, and 1 John i. 5. *Everlasting* in its original sense of "unbeginning and unending," cp. ch. ii. 23. Wisdom was, before the world was created: accordingly her light is superior to created light, *v.* 29.

an unspotted mirror] Vulg. *speculum sine macula.* If Wisdom is in her essence an emanation from the Divine power, *v.* 25, she is a faithful representation of that power in its concrete manifestation. Her operations do not belie her origin.

image of his goodness] According to Philo, power and goodness are the greatest attributes of God, and Wisdom shares the latter as well as the former, *v.* 25. She is the means of its manifestation, being its image: through her God reveals His character as lover of men and good. *Image* (εἰκών) is frequently used of the Logos by Philo. *Fuga* § 19, *Conf. l.* § 28. For *image* as expressing representation and manifestation, see Lightfoot on Col. i. 15. God's goodness was His motive in creation, cp. ch. xi. 24—xii. 1, and accordingly His intermediary is shown to exhibit the same characteristic.

v. 27—Ch. VIII. 1. The activity of Wisdom in the physical and moral world.

27. *she, being one...all things*] The same contrast as in *v.* 22 "alone in kind, manifold." Wisdom is one in essence, yet manifold in effective operation. The universality of her domain, dwelt on in 23 b and 24, is again referred to: though she is but one, her influence is felt everywhere.

remaining in herself, reneweth] Wisdom is unchanging and unchangeable, yet the agent of all change. She is the vital force by which the world lives: she suffers no decrease, needs no increase, but the world with its deaths and resurrections lives by her life. Cp. Ps. civ. 30. Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 31, writes "God's art (Wisdom), wherewith He fashioned all things, admits of neither tension nor slackening, but abiding the same (μένουσα ἡ αὐτὴ) has fashioned perfectly each thing in its degree." Anaxagoras (Arist. *Phys.* 8. 5) taught that Mind (νοῦς) was the cause of all change and movement in the universe: while producing variation all around, itself remained constant and stable. But the idea is found in O.T. See Ps. cii. 27, 28.

passing into holy souls] As with things, so with men. Her mobility is exercised in all ages and on the spiritual no less than on the material plane, see *v.* 23 b. But her operations are limited by the worthiness of men, see ch. i. 4, 5, vi. 16: where there is no affinity, there can be no

She maketh *men* friends of God and prophets.
For nothing doth God love save him that dwelleth with 28
wisdom.
For she is fairer than the sun, 29

inspiration. Cp. St John xiv. 21, 23, and Prov. xxii. 11 LXX. "The Lord loveth holy hearts."

friends of God] The phrase is practically without LXX. precedent: it occurs in A.V. twice, where it is used of Abraham, 2 Chron. xx. 7 and Is. xli. 8, but in neither case is the phrase represented in LXX. by 'friend' (φίλος). But Philo, *Sobr.* § 11 quotes Gen. xviii. 17, with the addition of the words "my friend." From St James ii. 23 the expression passed into Christian literature, while a similar use is found in St John xv. 14, 15. The origin of the phrase is perhaps to be sought in Greek philosophy. In his note on St James ii. 23, J. B. Mayor quotes examples from Xenophon, Plato (twice) and Epictetus. Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 5 has "All wise men are friends of God," and "friend of God" appears also in Epict. ii. 17; while Diogenes (Diog. Laert. vi. 2, 37) playfully argued: "All things belong to the gods: the wise are *friends of the gods*: the property of friends is common: therefore all things belong to the wise."

maketh... prophets] The Gk. verb is the same as in ch. ix. 2 (R.V. *formedst*). Wisdom has a creative effect upon holy souls: she adopts them into the Divine relation which she herself has inherited. Probably the writer has in mind not the ordinary prophet who fell into a trance or experienced moments of half-frenzied inspiration, but the prophet of a rare type such as Moses, who is (Numb. xii. 7) expressly differentiated from the ecstatic prophet. It is perhaps from Moses and not from Abraham (although the latter is currently known in the East as El Khalil "the friend") that the phrase "friend of God" is drawn; see Ex. xxxiii. 11. The prophet (e.g. Abraham, Gen. xx. 7, and Moses) not only spoke from God to men, Ex. xx. 19, but to God for men, Ex. v. 22, 23, xxxii. 32. Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 5 has an interesting paragraph on the boldness of Moses' speech with God, who "dared to speak to God in a way that men would not speak to a king. But it was not insolence, it was confident trust. Freedom of speech is the sign of *friendship*; to whom might a man speak his heart if not to his friend?"

28. *save him that dwelleth with wisdom*] The metaphor is from marriage, cp. ch. viii. 2, 9, 16. The thought is more strong and unqualified than the writer allows elsewhere, cp. ch. xi. 24, although Philo, *Quod Deus* § 34, writes of Wisdom "through her alone can suppliant souls escape for refuge to the Unbeginning One." This *v.* is one of those that seem to anticipate, if not suggest, teachings in the Fourth Gospel, cp. St John xiv. 6 b, xvi. 27.

29. *For she is fairer*] Cp. Song vi. 9. Philo, *Ebr.* § 11 writes "When the knowledge of Him who is shines forth, it illuminates all around it till it darkens the things that seem to be most bright in themselves." The sun as a single object of radiant glory, the stars in

And above [1]all the constellations of the stars:
Being compared with light, she is found *to be* before it;
30 For [2]to the light *of day* succeedeth night,
But against wisdom evil doth not prevail;
8 But she [3]reacheth from one end *of the world* to the other with full strength,
And ordereth all things [4]graciously.

2 Her I loved and sought out from my youth,
And I sought to take her for my bride,

[1] Gr. *every arrangement of stars. from end onward unto end mightily* [2] Gr. *to this.* [3] Or, *reacheth* [4] Or, *unto good use*

their manifold groupings, cannot vie with her in beauty: while for steadfastness the daylight is not to be compared with her.

30. *doth not prevail*] Philo, *Mos.* iii. 37 writes "He was grieved that a fabricated tale should quench so bright a beam of that truth, upon which the eclipse neither of sun nor of all the army of stars could cast a shadow. For it shines with an immaterial light of its own, in comparison with which physical light would be as night to day." With this faith in the invincibleness of Wisdom, cp. St John i. 5 "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness overcame it not." Cp. also R. Browning "One who...never dream'd, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph."

viii. **1.** *reacheth*] Grimm points out that the Divine activities were viewed by Philo as an extension (or out-reaching) of the Being of God. This *v.* therefore points to the function of Wisdom as an emanation from Him. Cp. Philo, *Migr.* § 32 "This universe is held together by unseen powers, which the demiurge *stretched* from the ends of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven. Now these powers are chains that cannot be broken." Plato, *Tim.* 34 B speaks of God making a kind of world-soul, which He spread (or stretched) throughout the whole (ἔτεινε διὰ παντὸς).

ordereth] The prec. clause points to the support of the world, this to its government, by Wisdom. The Gk. word was in common use among the Stoics, who debated the question, "Is the world *ordered* (διοικεῖται) by providence?"

Ch. VIII. 2—21. Solomon desires to take Wisdom for his bride.

vv. 2—8. Her moral and intellectual supremacy.

2. *from my youth*] Cp. Ecclus. vi. 18, li. 13.

my bride] Solomon is compelled to resort to the use of this image, if he is to express adequately the intimacy and the fruitfulness of his

And I became enamoured of her beauty.
She glorifieth *her* noble birth in that it is given her to live with God, 3
And the Sovereign Lord of all loved her.
For she is initiated into the knowledge of God, 4

relation to Wisdom. The picture is one which reverence would forbid any but a mystic to employ, but it is to be found also in Philo, *Cong.* § 14, where it is extended, and Wisdom is seen as mother as well as wife. Philo also describes himself as having in his youth loved one of the handmaids of Wisdom, Grammar, who bore children to him, writing, reading, and history. Philo's language shows clearly the danger of unseemliness, which always threatens the mystical use of sensuous images.

became enamoured] Cp. Plato, *Phaedrus* 250 D "O what marvellous love would Wisdom cause to spring up in the hearts of men, if she sent forth a clear likeness of herself also, even as Beauty doth!" (tr. J. A. Stewart).

3. her *noble birth*] Does a man look for noble birth in his bride? Who fulfils his requirements more truly than Wisdom? she is the offspring of God. Cp. vii. 25, 26, and Philo, *Fuga* § 9, where she is called "daughter of God."

to live with God] Image is piled on image without regard to incongruity, and Wisdom is called the Bride of God. The Greek word (Vulg. *contubernium*) suggests this meaning unreservedly, and a similar idea is found in Philo, *Ebr.* § 8 "We shall be justified in calling the Creator the Father of the world, and His knowledge its Mother, with whom God dwelt and whom He made mother of the Creation, yet not after the manner of a man." In the O.T. the closeness of Jehovah's relation to His people Israel is often expressed by the figure of marriage, cp. Is. l. 1, lxii. 4, 5; Hos. ii. 19, 20. *vv.* 2, 3 illustrate the limitations of symbolism. Symbolism can never view a situation as a whole, only in detail: as one point after another catches its eye, it throws off a rapid picture of each. Taken singly and without relation to each other, these pictures are suggestive: in combination, they are grotesque and impossible. E.g. the characterisations of Wisdom as Bride of Solomon, Daughter of God and Bride of God are mutually exclusive: taken together, they present the *reductio ad absurdum* of symbolism.

And] Vulg. *sed et*, "yea, and."

loved her] Cp. Prov. viii. 30.

the Sovereign Lord of all] The same phrase is found in Job v. 8 LXX. and is expanded in Job v. 9 ff.

4. *For*] Considering her relation to the knowledge and the works of God, she must be loved by Him.

she is initiated] This is the usual meaning of the Gk. word (μύστις), but it sometimes has an active meaning "one who initiates," and so Vulg. *doctrix*. The context however, which touches on the relations of God and Wisdom alone, seems to show that the word refers to the

And she [1]chooseth out *for him* his works.
5 But if riches are a desired possession in life,
What is richer than wisdom, which worketh all things?
6 [2]And if understanding worketh,
Who more than [3]wisdom is an artificer of the things that are?
7 And if a man loveth righteousness,
[4]The fruits of wisdom's labour are virtues,

[1] Some authorities read *deviseth* for him. [2] The Greek text of this clause is perhaps corrupt. [3] Gr. *she*. [4] Gr. *Her labours are*.

exceptional prerogative of Wisdom. The knowledge of God is the knowledge which God possesses, and wherewith He searches out His creation. Into the secret mysteries of this knowledge it pleased God to initiate Wisdom.

chooseth out] Vulg. *electrix*. The idea seems to be that God allowed her a voice in deciding the order in which His works should proceed. "Through His Wisdom God knows what is best, and through the same Wisdom He performs it" (Grimm).

5. Besides nobility, wealth is desirable in a bride. This Wisdom possesses in preeminent degree.

worketh all things] She "chooses out God's works" for Him. Possibly there is a play on the Greek word (ἐργάζεσθαι) which means (1) to work at a trade, (2) to gain by trading. Wisdom accordingly is rich, because she possesses the secret of all work and therefore of all profit.

6. It is possible that there is a corruption in this verse. As it stands, it does not add appreciable strength to *v.* 5: Vulg. however translates it literally. The sense seems to be that Wisdom, if a worker at all, must be supreme in any thing to which she puts her hand.

understanding] This is a variant for "Wisdom" in *v.* 5, but the writer uses it with the deliberate intention of emphasizing the intellectual aspect of Wisdom. Can any thing be conceived, he asks, more skilful in creative work than Wisdom in her aspect as Mind? cp. vii. 22.

If objection is taken to the identification between "Wisdom" in *v.* 5 and "understanding" in *v.* 6, another rendering is possible, which contrasts them. "If human wisdom is a worker, who more than *she* (the heavenly Wisdom) is artificer of the things that are?" Human wisdom can produce results, but only the heavenly Wisdom can call into being things having in themselves the quality of permanence and self-existence. Philo, *Det. Pot.* § 16 speaks of Wisdom as the "mother of the world, through whom the universe was brought to completion."

7. Nobility, Wealth, Intellect belong to Wisdom: she possesses also Righteousness.

the fruits of wisdom's labour] lit. *her labours*, Vulg. *labores*, abstr. for concr., cp. x. 10.

are virtues] Cp. Epicurus, "Prudence is the most honourable

For she teacheth soberness and understanding, righteousness and courage;
And there is nothing in life for men more profitable than these.
And if a man longeth even for much experience, 8

part of philosophy, because from it spring all the virtues: they teach that it is impossible to live happily without also living prudently, and righteously" (Diog. Laert. x. 132). Wisdom is shown to be the parent of the four cardinal virtues of Greek philosophy; the same teaching is given in Philo, *Allegg.* i. 19, where the garden of Eden is made to represent Wisdom (which is identified with the Divine Logos); the river stands for Virtue, and the four heads into which it parts are Prudence, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude. Aristobulus had written (c. 150 B.C.) "The whole constitution of our Law was arranged with reference to piety, righteousness, temperance, and all other truly good things" (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 667 a).

For she teacheth etc.] This passage is one of the obvious points of contact between the Book of Wisdom and Greek philosophy. Plato was the first to establish and explain the principal virtues, which he enumerated as four: (1) Wisdom, which consists in the right quality of the reason, (2) Courage, when the spirit supports the reason against desire for pleasure and fear of pain, (3) Self-control, when the soul is conscious of harmony in all its parts on the question which is to command and which is to obey, (4) Justice, when every part of the soul fulfils its mission (Plato, *Rep.* iv. 441 C ff.), cp. Zeller, *Outlines of Greek Philosophy*, p. 157, and Diog. Laert. iii. 80, 91, where Prudence takes the place of Wisdom, a change which was adopted by the Stoics and which found general acceptance. These four virtues appear in 4 Macc. i. 6, 18, being called in the latter place the forms (*ἰδέαι*) of Wisdom: in 4 Macc. v. 22, 23 Piety is substituted for Prudence. Piety was counted as a cardinal virtue by Socrates, from whom Plato drew his theory of virtue. "Righteousness" appears twice in this *v.*: in the first case meaning the sum of human moral rectitude, as in ch. i. 1, and in the second in a more restricted sense, although it is impossible to say how far that sense is identical with the Platonic. Plato's cardinal virtues are closely connected with his analysis of human nature into reason, courage, and desire (Diog. Laert. iii. 67), but this trichotomy is not recognised by the author of Wisdom.

nothing...more profitable] This line seems to be recalled in Hermas, *Mand.* viii. 9 "Faith, fear of the Lord, love, concord, works of righteousness,...nothing is better than these in the life of men."

8. *much experience*] The Greek word is used loosely of insight into the future, as well as of experience of past events: Vulg. is therefore to be preferred *multitudinem scientiae*. Wisdom possesses that mental vigour which places all past experience at the service of the constructive imagination, and enables her to anticipate the future.

She knoweth [1]the things of old, and [2]divineth the things to come:
She understandeth subtilties of speeches and interpretations of dark sayings:
She foreseeth signs and wonders, and the issues of seasons and times.

[1] Some authorities read *how to divine the things of old and the things to come.* [2] Gr. *conjectureth.*

the things of old] For knowledge of the past and future as a Divine possession, cp. Ps. cxxxix. 5 LXX.; Prov. viii. 21 a; Is. xli. 22, 23, xlv. 21; Ecclus. xxxix. 1; Ep. Barn. v. 3 "The Lord hath both revealed unto us the past, and made us wise in the present, and as regards the future we are not without understanding." Philo (*Mos.* ii. 39) argues that past and future do not exist for God.

divineth] Foreknowledge is not claimed for Wisdom, nor is it stated that God communicates to her His own prevision. God knows, but Wisdom conjectures. There is considerable MS. authority for the marginal reading (εἰκάζειν), which is found in BC.

subtilties of speeches] Cp. Ecclus. xxxix. 2, 3. The wise man will be a student of the past and of the future: "he will enter in amidst the subtilties (στροφαί) of parables. He will seek out the hidden meaning of proverbs, and be conversant in the dark sayings (αἰνίγματα) of parables." The phrase appears in Prov. i. 3 LXX. The Gk. word (στροφή) is originally used of the twistings and turnings of the wrestler in his effort to elude his opponent: the word was naturally applied to the elaborated efforts of the wise men to mystify their rivals and outdo them in the conflict of wits.

interpretations of dark sayings] Cp. Prov. i. 6. The "dark saying" (αἴνιγμα) is properly a veiled, allusive, oracular utterance, cp. Num. xii. 8; 1 Cor. xiii. 12. The propounding of parables and riddles and sphinx-like questions is not uncommonly alluded to in O.T., Judg. xiv. 12; 1 Kings x. 1; Ezek. xvii. 3. For Solomon's fame, cp. 1 Kings iv. 32, and Ecclus. xlvii. 17; for Daniel's, Dan. v. 12.

signs and wonders] These words are frequently found in combination both in O.T. and N.T., cp. St John iv. 48, and they appear also in Dan. iv. 34 LXX. in conjunction with "seasons and times." *Wonders* are natural phenomena in their aspect as marvels, *signs* in their aspect as witnesses to something not yet clearly manifested. Philo in *Opif.* § 19 tells how the stars were used by men for foretelling storms and calms, clear weather and cloudy, drought and plentiful rains, earthquakes and thunder. That this kind of fore-calculation is pointed to here is shown by ch. vii. 17—19, and by *seasons and times* in the following line, which probably has the same reference as in ch. vii. 18. The normal meaning of "seasons and times" is:—*seasons* are climatic periods of uncertain length, *times* are fixed periods depending on the measured

I determined therefore to take her unto me to live with me, 9
Knowing that she is one who would [1]give me good *thoughts*
for counsel,
And [2]encourage me in cares and grief.
Because of her I shall have glory among multitudes, 10
And honour in the sight of elders, though I be young.
I shall be found of a quick conceit when I give judgement, 11
And in the presence of [3]princes I shall be admired.
When I am silent, they shall wait for me; 12

[1] Or, *hold counsel with me for good things, and...against cares and grief* [2] Or, *exhort* Or, *advise* [3] Or, *mighty men*

movements of sun and moon (Philo, *op. cit.*). Wisdom can foretell the issues of the year in respect of harvests, etc., and no doubt some prevision of human concerns is included.

vv. **9—16.** THE BENEFITS THAT SOLOMON'S BRIDE WILL CONFER UPON HIM.

9. *to live with me*] i.e. to be my wife. The Greek word is the same as in *v.* 3. Cp. Philo, *Cain* § 23 "The knowledge that dwells with (*σύμβιον*) the wise."

give me good thoughts *for counsel*] *σύμβουλος* with the gen. of the counsel given is found in 2 Chron. xxii. 3 LXX.

encourage me] *παραίνεσις* (Vulg. *allocutio*) is usually taken here in this sense, though there is no other example of such a use.

10. *I shall have glory*] Cp. Prov. xxxi. 23 LXX. The people will admire the king for his wise judgments (1 Kings iii. 28), and the elders will applaud his wisdom in the council. *multitudes*, i.e. assemblies.

though I be young] Cp. 1 Kings iii. 7 "I am but a little child"; 1 Chr. xxix. 1. Josephus says that Solomon died at ninety-four, having reigned eighty years: this would make his age, on his accession, to be fourteen. Grimm, arguing from 1 Kings xi. 4 suggests about twenty-five. The writer has in view the ideal Solomon, and ignores throughout the book the darker side of the later picture which is alluded to in Ecclus. xlvii. 19, 20.

11. *of a quick conceit*] i.e. intelligence. The allusion is doubtless to 1 Kings iii. 16 ff. For "conceit," an archaism retained from A.V., Deane compares *Merchant of Venice* i. 1:

> "With purpose to be dressed in an opinion
> Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit."

in the presence of princes] Either the chief men of his own people, or the kings of other nations. For the latter, cp. 1 Kings iv. 34, v. 7 Hiram, x. 5—9 the Queen of Sheba.

And when I open my lips, they shall give heed unto me;
And if I continue speaking, they shall lay their hand upon their mouth.
13 Because of her I shall have immortality,
And leave behind an eternal memory to them that come after me.
14 I shall govern peoples,
And nations shall be subjected to me.
15 Dread princes shall fear me when they hear *of me*:
Among *my* [1]people I shall shew myself a good *ruler*, and in war courageous.

[1] Gr. *multitude.*

12. *they shall give heed*] The passage recalls Job xxix. 21, 22.

their hand upon their mouth] A gesture expressive of respectful silence. Cp. Job xxi. 5, xxix. 9, xl. 4; Ecclus. v. 12.

13. *Because of her*] For διὰ with acc. in this connection, cp. St John vi. 57 "He shall live by Me" (ζήσει δι' ἐμέ).

immortality] Clearly of the subjective kind, i.e. undying fame, as the context shews.

an eternal memory] Cp. Ps. cxii. 6 "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance." This is a reversion to the strict O.T. view of the future life: the memory of his deeds and his name perpetuated in his descendants, constituted the immortality that the early Hebrew looked for.

14. *I shall govern peoples*] A reminiscence of the Messianic Psalm lxxii. 8—11, which contains obvious allusions to the empire of Solomon. As Wisdom caused Solomon to be honoured in his own land (*vv.* 10—13), so she would win him renown in foreign countries (*vv.* 14, 15). There is no occasion to distinguish between *peoples* and *nations*, the repetition being due solely to the requirements of the poetic parallelism, cp. Ps. lvii. 9 LXX. Cp. 1 Kings iv. 21 "Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river unto the land of the Philistines... : they brought presents, and served Solomon all the days of his life." See Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, pp. 420, 421 in this series. For *subjected*, cp. Ps. lx. 8 LXX.

15. *Dread princes*] Cp. Ps. lxxii. 10, 11 "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles...the kings of Sheba and Seba. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him." See 1 Kings x. 23—25 "King Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom. And all the earth (all kings of the earth LXX.) sought to Solomon, to hear his wisdom...."

when they hear of me] Cp. Ps. xviii. 44.

a good ruler, *and...courageous*] An effective combination of royal qualities, the king being seen to be strong in domestic affairs as well as brave on the field. Cp. Homer's description of Agamemnon, which Plutarch says was frequently on the lips of Alexander:

ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ αἰχμητής
(Both a noble king and a mighty man of war).

When I am come into my house, I shall find rest with her; 16
For converse with her hath no bitterness,
And to live with her hath no pain, but gladness and joy.
When I considered these things in myself, 17
And took thought in my heart how that in kinship unto
wisdom is immortality,
And in her friendship is good delight, 18
And in the labours of her hands is wealth that faileth not,
And in [1]assiduous communing with her is understanding,
And great renown in having fellowship with her words,

[1] Gr. *practice of communion.*

16. *shall find rest with her*] Cp. Philo, *Migr.* § 6 "Wisdom is the best dwelling-place of virtuous souls."

converse with her] For the Greek word, cp. 3 Macc. ii. 31. The word denotes merely social intercourse.

to live with her] *Life with her* (συμβίωσις, cp. *vv.* 3, 9) means life under one roof with her, while *converse* (συναναστροφή) in the preceding line refers to the intimacy of moral intercourse with her.

but gladness and joy] Philo (*Quis rerum* § 62) compares Wisdom to a river full of gladness and joy and all other blessings; again (*Plant.* § 40) he writes that "her features are not sour and austere, but cheerful and serene, full of mirth and joy."

This verse treats of the private life of Solomon with his bride, in contradistinction to his public life (*vv.* 10—15), in which she is the secret of his success. The Greek word for "find rest with her" has special reference to the intercourse of intimates, friend with friend, brother with brother, father with son, cp. Epict. iii. 13.

vv. **17—21.** SOLOMON, WEIGHING ALL THE ADVANTAGES CONFERRED BY WISDOM, PRAYS TO GOD TO GRANT HER TO HIM.

17. This and the succeeding verse are a recapitulation of the merits of Wisdom.

in kinship unto wisdom] Cp. Prov. vii. 4 "Say unto Wisdom 'Thou art my sister.'" For *immortality*, see Eccl. vii. 12 LXX. "The knowledge of Wisdom will give life to him that hath it." *Kinship* (συγγένεια) is used here of the spiritual affinity between himself and his bride which Solomon anticipates.

18. *in her friendship*] *v.* 16 end.

labours of her hands] *vv.* 5, 6.

assiduous communing with her] The thought is of the mutual interaction of the characters of Solomon and his bride, not merely in speech (as Vulg. *in certamine loquellae*), but in the exercise of mutual intercourse generally.

great renown] *vv.* 10—12. Wisdom will be his monitor.

I went about seeking how to take her unto myself.
19 Now I was [1]a child of parts, and a good soul fell to my lot;
20 Nay rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled.

[1] Or, *a goodly child*

I went about seeking] Cp. vi. 16 where Wisdom is the seeker, and, for the expression, Plato, *Symp.* 209 B.

19. *a child of parts*] "of good natural disposition," Vulg. *ingeniosus*. The Gk. εὐφυὴς is used of both spiritual and physical qualities, cp. Plato, *Rep.* iii. 409 E.

fell to my lot] The plain meaning of *vv.* 19, 20, is this, "I was a goodly child, well-endowed both in soul and body." But the writer, in stating the fact that he was well-endowed in soul, expresses himself in terms which do not altogether satisfy him, and he corrects himself. It might be expected that the correction would not appear in the final draft of his book, but it does appear; and hence the debate which has centred round this passage.

A good soul, he says, *fell to my lot*: we should expect him to add, "and a good body." But that would have suggested that he thought (i) that body and soul both came into being at the time of conception, and (ii) that his soul was something distinct from his Ego, and a possession not pre-ordained but obtained by chance. Accordingly, as a believer in the pre-existence of the soul, and in the identification of the Ego with the soul, he corrects himself, *nay rather, being good* (i.e. being a good soul), *I came into a body undefiled*. He finds himself unable to apply to the body a more generous epithet than *undefiled*, owing to his tendency as an Alexandrian towards dualism. This tendency is however controlled, and the nearest approach the writer makes to the extreme view of Philo is in ch. ix. 15 where he writes "the corruptible body presseth down the soul." He is in fact true to O.T. teaching in not asserting that the cause of man's moral frailty is to be found in his physical nature, or that the flesh is in itself sinful, or the seat of sin (Davidson, *Theol. of O.T.* p. 192). His body is unstained: he starts life without prejudice. For the body as receptacle of the soul, see ch. ix. 15; 2 Cor. v. 4; Barnabas, Ep. vii. 3; Lucr. iii. 441 "corpus quod uas quasi constitit eius."

If the question is asked, How does the doctrine of pre-existence agree with O.T. teaching? it must be replied that O.T. hardly considers the question. Gen. ii. 7 e.g. does not touch upon the endowment of man with a soul, i.e. an immaterial self-consistent element, but only with the granting of vitality to man. This vitality is not, even though it now belongs to man, a spiritual substance or soul: it is simply a spiritual principle, which God can withdraw and reabsorb into Himself. It has no existence as anything in itself. The doctrine of the pre-existence, like that of the immortality, of the soul, is not a Hebrew idea: O.T. thought deals with different categories. It is only in later books, when Jewish thought had begun to assimilate foreign elements,

But perceiving that I could not otherwise [1]possess *wisdom* 21
except God gave *her* me
(Yea and to know [2]by whom the grace is given, this *too* came
of understanding),
I pleaded with the Lord and besought him,

[1] This is the probable sense: the Greek text is perhaps defective.
[2] Gr. *of whom is the grace.*

that this spirit is spoken of more as if it had an independent existence of its own, Eccl. iii. 21, xii. 7 (Davidson, *Theol. of O.T.* p. 193 f.). But even Ecclesiastes had no conception of souls that had sinned before birth. Weber (*Altsyn. Pal. Theol.* p. 217) quotes from Midrash Tanchuma to show that it was held that God had created all souls, and created them good from the first. They dwelt in a heavenly region, and were united with a body at the time of conception. Predestination was an accepted theory among the Alexandrian Jews, see Philo, *All.* iii. 28 "Some there are whom even before birth God moulds kindly and disposes well, and chooses for them a goodly lot": but the Divine method of effecting it was to give the individual a greater or less inclination to the (invariably good) life of the soul. Even in *Gig.* § 3, where Philo writes of the differing fortunes of souls after they have become incarnate, although he acknowledges that some are enslaved by the body, while others rise superior to it, he does not attempt to account for this sensual tendency by any theory of pre-natal sin.

21. *possess* wisdom] This rendering is suggested by the entire context, and a similar use of ἐγκρατής (without the genitive of the thing obtained) is found in Ecclus. vi. 27. Vulgate translates ἐγκρατής by *continens*, a perfectly legitimate rendering of the word, but with nothing to commend it except the occurrence of "a body undefiled" in *v.* 20. With *except God gave*, cp. Prov. ii. 6; Jer. x. 23.

this too *came of understanding*] He could not be seeking Wisdom, had not Wisdom already found him. Cp. Tennyson, *Launcelot and Elaine*,

> "In me there dwells
> No greatness, save it be some far-off touch
> Of greatness to know well I am not great."

I pleaded with the Lord] What are the limits of Solomon's prayer? why should it be restricted to ch. ix.? God is addressed in x. 20 and from xi. 17—xii. 27, and again in some portion of each succeeding chapter (except xiii.) of the book. The answer is that God is indeed addressed, but is not supplicated: ch. ix. is the only one in which Wisdom is asked for. In all the following chapters the use of the second person is purely rhetorical, and the third person would suit equally well. At the most, they might be described as a meditation.

And with my whole heart I said,

9 O God of the fathers, and [1]Lord who keepest thy mercy,
Who madest all things [2]by thy word;
2 And by thy wisdom thou formedst man,
That he should have dominion over the creatures that were made by thee,
3 And rule the world in holiness and righteousness,
And execute judgement in uprightness of soul;
4 Give me wisdom, her that sitteth by thee on thy [3]throne;

[1] Gr. *Lord of thy mercy*. Compare 2 Sam. vii. 15; Ps. lxxxix. 49.
[2] Gr. *in*. [3] Gr. *thrones*.

Ch. IX. Solomon's prayer.

vv. 1—4. He appeals to God for the gift of Wisdom.

1. *O God of the fathers*] There are several reminiscences in this chapter of 1 Chr. xxviii., xxix. LXX. This invocation (cp. Dan. ii. 23) is based on 1 Chr. xxviii. 9 and xxix. 18, 20, the fathers being Abraham, Isaac and Israel.

Lord...mercy] God's mercy is a leading thought in the prayer in 1 Kings iii. 6 f., and in the Messianic passage 2 Sam. vii 15, the promises of which are reaffirmed in Ps. lxxxix. 28, cp. Ex. xxxiii. 19.

Who madest...by thy word] There is no allusion here to Greek Logos-doctrine (see Introd. § 10). The tone of the passage is Hebrew, and the combination of *mercy* and *word* recalls Ps. xxxiii. 5, 6 "The earth is full of the mercy (margin and LXX.) of the Lord. By the word of the Lord were the heavens made," cp. id. *v.* 9 "He spake and it was done."

2. *thou formedst man*] i.e. didst form and equip. For the Greek word, which means *to organize* in relation to existing matter, cp. 4 Macc. ii. 21.

That he should have dominion] For the connection between the creation of man and his supremacy over the animal world, cp. Gen. i. 26, 28. See Ps. viii. 6—8; Ecclus. xvii. 2—5.

3. *holiness* and *righteousness* are the aspects of man's life as he maintains a right relation to God and to man, cp. St Luke i. 75. Man is not an irresponsible ruler; he is the servant of the moral law.

in uprightness of soul] An almost identical expression is found in 1 Kings iii. 6; Ps. cxix. 7. To *judge in uprightness* occurs in Ps. ix. 8, xcvi. 10, xcviii. 9. Cp. Ps. lxxv. 2. The idea is that clearness of vision cannot be dissociated from integrity of character.

4. *her that sitteth by thee*] *adsistricem* Vulg., cp. Prov. viii. 27—30, and Ecclus. i. 1.

Philo calls Justice the assessor (πάρεδρος) of God (*Mos.* ii. 10), and

And reject me not from among thy [1]servants:
Because I am thy bondman and the son of thy handmaid, 5
A man weak and short-lived,
And of small power to understand judgement and laws.
For even if a man be perfect among the sons of men, 6
Yet if the wisdom that cometh from thee be not with him,
he shall be held in no account.

[1] Or, *children*

Greek classical poets apply the same metaphor to Righteousness, and Themis, cp. Pindar, *Ol.* 8, 22. Cp. Soph. *Ant.* 451.

throne] Gk. *thrones*, cp. *v.* 12, and Ps. cxxii. 5. The plural of dignity.

and reject me not] A reminiscence of Ps. lxxxix. 38 f., which depicts the Messianic king rejected and forsaken by God. Solomon deprecates a fate which he knows must befall him, if he thinks to dispense with Divine aid.

vv. 5—8. SOLOMON PLEADS HIS OWN WEAKNESS, AND THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TASK ASSIGNED HIM.

5. *bondman...handmaid*'] Taken from Ps. cxvi. 16 and (with a slight variation) Ps. lxxxvi. 16. The double expression indicates special dependence. See note in this series on Ps. cxvi. 16, "'The son of thine handmaid' is a synonym for 'thy servant,' denoting a closer relationship, for servants 'born in the house' (Gen. xiv. 14) were the most trusted dependents."

weak and short-lived] Epithets characteristic, not of Solomon in particular, but of the human race to which he belonged. Cp. 1 Chr. xxix. 15 "We are strangers before thee, and sojourners...; our days on the earth are as a shadow." Cp. also, however, 1 Kings iii. 7 "I am but a little child."

of small power to understand] Vulg. *minor ad intellectum*, cp. 1 Kings iii. 9, 11.

Judgment points to political administration, *laws* to judicial equity.

6. *perfect among the sons of men*] The same contrast between the natural and the spiritual man is intended, as is referred to by our Lord in St Matt. xi. 11. There may be a side-reference to the choice of David in preference to the other sons of Jesse in 1 Sam. xvi. 6, 7. *Perfect*, Vulg. *consummatus*. The word denotes not so much moral perfection, as the full possession of all natural qualities. "Sons of men" may be compared with "born of women" in Job xi. 3 LXX., xiv. 1, xv. 14, xxv. 4; both expressions emphasize the material side of human nature.

if wisdom...be not with him] Cp. Philo, *Post. C.* § 41 "Whence can the thirsty heart of man be filled save from the inexhaustible spring of the Divine Wisdom?" and *Quis rerum* § 12. See St John xv. 5.

7 Thou didst choose me before *my brethren* to be king of thy people,
And to do judgement for thy sons and daughters.
8 Thou gavest command to build a sanctuary in thy holy mountain,
And [1]an altar in the city of thy [2]habitation,
A copy of the holy tabernacle which thou preparedst aforehand from the beginning.

[1] Or, *a place of sacrifice* [2] Gr. *tabernacling.*

7. *Thou didst choose*] *Thou* is emphatic. The responsibility does not lie with Solomon. Cp. 1 Chron. xxviii. 5; 2 Chron. i. 9.

before my brethren] Cp. 2 Sam. iii. 2—5, and 1 Kings i. 5 and 28—31.

thy sons and daughters] The expression is unusual, cp. Is. xliii. 6, and "sons and daughters of Sion," Is. iv. 4. The rarity of the occurrence of "daughters of God" is due, it has been suggested, to the depressed condition of Eastern womanhood. If the king is the son of God (2 Sam. vii. 14), his people are, by a natural extension, called sons and daughters of God.

8. *command to build*] Cp. 2 Sam. vii. 13; 1 Chron. xxviii. 10; Ecclus. xlvii. 13.

thy holy mountain] Mount Moriah, traditionally associated with the trial of Abraham's faith (Gen. xxii. 14) and with the vision of the angel at the threshingfloor of Araunah (2 Chron. iii. 1). The expression occurs six times in the Psalms (LXX.) and in Is. lvi. 7. "Holy, said of things, cannot denote a moral attribute. It can only express a relation; and the relation is belonging to Jehovah, dedicated to Godhead....Everything belonging to Jehovah, whether as His by nature or as dedicated to Him, is called *holy*....In a wider way, the tabernacle, the place of His abode, was holy; Zion was the holy hill." (Davidson, *Theol. of O.T.* pp. 152, 153.)

the city of thy habitation] Lit. as marg. *tabernacling* (κατασκήνωσις), cp. 1 Chron. xxviii. 2; Ps. lxxiv. 2; 2 Macc. xiv. 35. For the "city of God," cp. Ps. xlvi. 4, lxxxvii. 3.

A copy] 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12, 18, 19. The word is in app. to *sanctuary* and *altar* earlier in the same *v.* The Chronicler represents David as having received from God a detailed account of the Temple which he passed on to Solomon, thus imitating the account in Ex. xxv. 9, 40 of the instructions given by God to Moses with respect to the Tabernacle. But the "holy Tabernacle" which Solomon was meant to copy is not the Tabernacle of Moses, but an ideal archetype which the writer pictures as existing in heaven (see Westcott, Heb. viii. 5, addit. note). This, as existing in the timeless mind of God, he describes as "prepared aforehand from the beginning." Cp. the Talmudic treatise Pesachim, which affirms that seven things existed before the creation,

And with thee is wisdom, which knoweth thy works, 9
And was present when thou wast making the world,
And which understandeth what is pleasing in thine eyes,
And what is right [1]according to thy commandments.
Send her forth out of the holy heavens, 10
And from the throne of thy glory bid her come,
That being present with me she may toil *with me*,
And *that* I may learn what is well-pleasing before thee.
For she knoweth all things and hath understanding *thereof*, 11
And in my doings she shall guide me in *ways of* soberness,

[1] Gr. *in*.

the law, hell, paradise, repentance, the throne of glory, the temple, and the name of the Messiah (Etheridge, *Targums* p. 11). The writer is possibly influenced by the Greek philosophical theory of ideas, which was not without its influence upon Heb. viii., ix.: Plato argued that ideas existed of all possible things, and accordingly the Alexandrian author of Wisdom may have inferred that there must be an archetypal idea of the Temple, as of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxv. 40).

vv. 9—12. WISDOM CAN INFORM AND DIRECT HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE.

9. *with thee is wisdom*] Ecclus. i. 1, cp. St John i. 1—4.

present when thou wast making] See ch. viii. 3, 4, notes.

in thine eyes] is a Hebraism corresponding to ἐνώπιόν σου in Dt. xii. 8; Is. xxxviii. 3; 1 John iii. 22.

right according to thy commandments] *Right* (εὐθὲς) is regularly used in LXX. in the expression "He did that which was *right* in the sight of the Lord."

10. *Send her forth...bid her come*] Cp. the Greek verbs in St John xx. 21. The distinction in sense between the two verbs, urged in Westcott, St John, addit. note on xx. 21, does not apply here. The sentences are parallel, and the second is the repetition rather than the complement of the first.

holy heavens] Cp. Ps. xx. 6. For *holy*, see note on *v.* 8.

throne of thy glory] upon which she sits as God's assessor, *v.* 4. For the expression, cp. Jer. xvii. 12 LXX.

being present with me] Cp. Prov. viii. 27. He desires that Wisdom, who was present when God was creating (*v.* 9 a), should aid him in his work.

11. *she knoweth all things*] Cp. vii. 21, 22, viii. 8.

guide me...guard me] Cp. Ps. xxiii. 3, 4. The Gk. vb. (ὁδηγεῖν) is used in this Psalm and in many others of moral guidance. See Ps. lxxiii. 24.

And she shall guard me in her glory.
12 And *so* shall my works be acceptable,
And I shall judge thy people righteously,
And I shall be worthy of my father's [1]throne.
13 For what man shall know the counsel of God?
Or who shall conceive what the Lord willeth?
14 For the thoughts of mortals are [2]timorous,
And our devices are prone to fail.
15 For a corruptible body weigheth down the soul,

[1] Gr. *thrones.* [2] The Greek text here is perhaps corrupt.

guard me in her glory] *in sua potentia* Vulg. If Vulg. is right, cp. Rom. vi. 4, "raised...by the glory of the Father." But the *glory* of Wisdom is probably the light which she possesses as an emanation from the eternal Light, and with which she illuminates his path.

12. *I shall judge*] Vulg. *disponam.* The Greek word refers to the general administration of the state.

throne] The plural of dignity as in *v.* 4.

vv. **13—19.** MAN IS SO CLOSELY IMPLICATED WITH THE MATERIAL WORLD THAT, APART FROM SPECIAL GRACE, HE CANNOT CONCEIVE SPIRITUAL THINGS.

13. *For*] The reason why Solomon was so earnest in the search for Wisdom. The king is God's vice-gerent, and no king can interpret the will of God who orders his life upon purely natural principles.

what man] *Man* is emphatic. What human being?

shall know] The verse is based on Is. xl. 13, and is very similar to 1 Cor. ii. 11—16, in which the same quotation appears.

conceive what the Lord willeth] Vulg. *quid velit deus.* "What" introduces not a substantival clause, but an indirect question (τί not ὅ). The Greek suggests not that he cannot receive God's will into his mind, but that he cannot by searching find it out.

14. *the thoughts of mortals*] A reminiscence of Ps. xciv. 11, which is quoted with a slight change in 1 Cor. iii. 20, a passage similar in tone to 1 Cor. ii. 11, 16.

timorous] Marg. suggests that the reading may be corrupt. But the epithet *timorous*, properly applicable to *men*, is applied to their thoughts.

our devices] Vulg. *prouidentiae.* Prone to fail through human short-sightedness.

15. This famous passage has caused the writer to be charged with dualistic views of which he is not guilty. There is in this verse none of that dualism which pronounces matter evil: the writer goes no further than the Psalmist when he says "He knoweth our frame: He remembereth that we are dust," or St Paul in Gal. v. 17. It is a common-

And the earthy frame lieth heavy on a mind that [1]is full of cares.

[1] Or, *museth upon many things*

place of experience that the spirit is willing, but the flesh is too weak (or too strong): the writer does not go beyond this, either here, or in ch. viii. 20. For one to whom classical literature was open either at first hand or through Alexandrian teachers, it is remarkable how he has avoided an error into which Philo fell: this passage presents a typical example of the distinction between Philo with his speculative bent, and Pseudo-Solomon with his inflexible religious purpose.

Philo accepted Heraclitus' epigram σῶμα σημα "The body is a tomb," see *All.* i. 33, *Quod D.* 32, *Migr.* 3, *Cong.* 18, *Somn.* i. 22. A characteristic passage is *de Gig.* § 7 "The chief cause of ignorance is the flesh and association with the flesh. Nothing presents such a hindrance to the growth of the soul as the flesh, for it is a kind of foundation of ignorance and stupidity, on which all the (abovementioned) evils are built....Souls that bear the burden of the flesh are weighed down and oppressed till they cannot look up at the heavens, and have their heads forcibly dragged downwards, being rooted to the earth like cattle." In a more temperate passage (*Q. R. D. H.* § 18) he writes "It is not easy to believe in God because of the mortal companion with which we are yoked." The body is a prison (*Migr.* 2); a corpse (*Agr.* 5), cp. Epict. "You are a poor little soul carrying a corpse." Many passages might be quoted from classical authors in this strain. One whose language was not without influence on this passage is Plato, *Phaedo* xxx. 81 C "The body is burdensome, and heavy and earthy: by the possession of it such a soul is oppressed." Cp. βαρούμενοι, 2 Cor. v. 4. See Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 77—79; Verg. *Aen.* vi. 730—734. Christian thought has not altogether escaped dualism: St Francis called his body "Brother ass," perhaps misunderstanding Rom. vii. 23, 24. Browning gives the thought intended by the author in its truest form,

> "What hand and brain went ever paired?
> What heart alike conceived and dared?
> What act proved all its thought had been?
> What will but felt the fleshly screen?"
>
> (*The Last Ride together.*)

corruptible] Liable to change and decay, cp. 1 Cor. xv. 53. The soul is ever striving to soar upwards to its source, the Eternal God; but the corruptible body holds it bound to itself as with chains.

the earthy frame] The second clause adds nothing to what has been said in the first; the picture is slightly varied.

frame] Vulg. renders well *inhabitatio*. The original meaning is *tent*, cp. 2 Cor. v. 1, 4, and 2 Pet. i. 13 (σκήνωμα) and *Ep. to Diognetus* § 6 (which contains an extended contrast between body and soul). A similar expression is found in Plato. Cp. Edmund Waller "The soul's dark *cottage*, battered and decayed."

16 And hardly do we [1]divine the things that are on earth,
And the things that are close at hand we find with labour;
But the things that are in the heavens who *ever yet* traced out?
17 And who *ever* gained knowledge of thy counsel, except thou [2]gavest wisdom,
And sentest thy holy spirit [3]from on high?
18 And it was thus that the ways of them which are on earth were corrected,
And men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee;

[1] Gr. *conjecture.* [2] Or, *hadst given...and sent*
[3] Gr. *from the highest.*

mind that is full of cares] There is no antithesis between *mind* and *soul* in the preceding line. The margin *that museth upon many things* (Vulg. *multa cogitantem*) suits the context better than text, but is not an exact translation of πολύφροντις (full of care). The idea is that the mind, in spite of its superiority, is incessantly hampered and depressed by matter.

16. This verse takes up *v.* 13, expatiating on the impossibility of the natural fathoming the supernatural. The knowledge of the things around him is largely conjecture for man; acquaintance with the most necessary things of daily life is only acquired with toil: how entirely then beyond mortal reach must be the things of God, cp. Is. lv. 9. For *τὰ ἐν χερσίν, the things that are close at hand*, ℵ reads *ποσίν*, "at his feet," which causes a singular resemblance between this passage and Diog. Laert. i. 8. 34: Thales fell into a pit when he went out to look at the stars, and an old woman cried out, "If Thales cannot see the things at his feet, does he expect to learn the things in the heavens?"

17. Cp. Is. xl. 13. No distinction must be pressed between *wisdom* and *holy spirit*, cp. vii. 22. The variation of terms is due to poetical parallelism, and the third Person of the Trinity is not thought of. "The holy spirit (in O.T.) is the name for all godly aspirations, as well as for the cause of them; it is that quickened human spirit which strives after God, and it is that Divine moving which causes it to strive, and it is that God even after whom there is the strife" (Davidson, *Theol. of O.T.* p. 233).

sentest] Inspiration is spoken of in similar terms, Is. lxiii. 14 LXX. "a spirit came down from the Lord and guided them." Cp. Ps. civ. 30; Bar. iii. 29, and Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 13 "inspired from above."

18. *the ways...were corrected*] The same metaphor appears in Jer. vii. 3, of the making straight of that which was morally crooked. For *the things that are pleasing to* God, cp. Bar. iv. 4 LXX. The reference is general, and not restricted to the illustrations in ch. x.

And through wisdom were they saved.

[1]Wisdom guarded to the end the first formed father of the **10**
world, that was created alone,

[1] Gr. *She.*

were they saved] Saved, not in the theological sense, but in the sense of "preserved" from dangers spiritual and bodily. The manner of the *saving* is of course relative, varying with the needs of each case. Vulg., apparently without any Greek authority, supplies as subject to the verb ἐσώθησαν, *as many as pleased Thee, O Lord, from the beginning.*

Part II.

Chapters x.—xix. form the second part of the book. The unifying idea is the beneficent action of Wisdom in history. Attention is mainly concentrated upon the contrast between the fortunes of Israel and their heathen enemies whether in Egypt or in Canaan: idolatry is assigned as the cause of the judgments of God upon heathenism. Emphasis is laid upon the Fatherhood of God, and upon the position of Israel as the chosen people, towards whom God's mercy is shown with a constancy which the writer's national sympathy enables him to justify while exaggerating. This Jewish philosophy of Israelitish history requires considerable licence in the interpretation of Scripture, and the writer does not confine himself to the authoritative records, but avails himself of amplifications and traditions provided by Jewish teachers in their *midrashim* (commentaries). For the divisions of Part II., see Introduction § 15.

Ch. X. The operation of Wisdom in the history of Adam **1, 2**; Cain **3**; Noah **4**; Abraham **5**; Lot **6—9**; Jacob **10—12**; Joseph **13, 14**; Israel under Moses **15—21.**

1. *Wisdom*] Marg. *She*, with reference to ix. 18, of which *v.* this ch. is the expansion. The emphatic pronoun (αὕτη) is used throughout this ch. in *vv.* 5, 6, 10, 13, 15. Wisdom in this ch. appears as an active principle of good, leading, saving, protecting men, and forsaken at their peril.

the first formed] See on vii. 1.

father of the world] In accordance with the custom of the book, which, though largely occupied with history, does not mention by name any historical character, indirect allusion is made to Adam. Since familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures is thus presupposed on the part of the reader, the book was evidently addressed to a Jewish circle.

that was created alone] Vulg. *cum solus esset creatus.* There are two possible interpretations of the Greek, of which text contains one, almost certainly right, while the other is *the alone-created*, i.e. Adam

And delivered him out of his own transgression,
2 And gave him strength to get dominion over all things.
3 But when an unrighteous man fell away from her in his anger,
He perished himself in the rage wherewith he slew his brother.

alone, of all the human race, can claim to have been created; all others were born, although they may be spoken of as created, in a derivative sense, through him. But this interpretation is somewhat strained: the thought does not seem natural to the writer, nor has it any relevancy to the sense of the passage. In view of *guarded to the end*, it is plain that the solitude of Adam is the writer's thought, and that he is telling how, when the future of the race of men hung upon the single thread of Adam's life, Wisdom watched over the destined father of mankind. Grimm and others render *μόνος unprotected*, but it is better to take the word literally. Cp. Etheridge, *Targums* p. 169 "The word of the Lord God said 'Behold, Adam...is sole in my world, as I am sole in the heavens above.'"

delivered out of...transgression] The exact reference is not very clear, but that any suggestion of Adam's final salvation is made, is out of the question. Such a discussion, besides its irrelevancy, has no place in a pre-Christian work, the Incarnation being the indispensable presupposition for such a restoration (cp. Irenaeus' attack upon Tatian's doctrine of the final loss of Adam, *adv. Haer.* iii. 23). Wisdom, the writer suggests, gave him repentance, kept him humble, and caused the curse to fall not upon Adam but upon the serpent and upon the earth. The words probably allude to the penalty denounced upon disobedience (Gen. ii. 17), which was not enforced at any rate literally. Irenaeus held that God caused Adam ultimately to die, not in wrath but in pity, lest he should continue a sinner for ever: Tertullian (*de Paen.* § 12) held that Adam was restored to Paradise after confession of his sin.

2. *And gave him strength*] This verse refers to the authority given to mankind over all living creatures (Gen. i. 26, 28, and again Gen. ix. 2). Wisdom did not deny to Adam the aid which the Fall rendered more than ever necessary.

3. *an unrighteous man*] i.e. Cain. His bearing is contrasted with that of Adam.

fell away from her] Cain rejected Wisdom both by his crime against his brother, and by his insolent behaviour subsequently ("am I my brother's keeper?"), which aggravated his offence (Irenaeus, *Haer.* iii. 23. 4).

perished himself in the rage] The Talmud has two legends with regard to Cain's death (1) that he was the man killed by Lamech, Gen. iv. 23, (2) that he was crushed by a falling house (Jubilees iv. 31). But συναπώλετο (*he perished with* his rage) makes a spiritual interpretation of the passage more probable. Cain, in killing his brother, killed

And when for his cause the earth was drowning with a flood, 4
Wisdom again saved it,
Guiding the righteous man's course by a poor piece of wood.

Moreover, when nations consenting together in wickedness 5
had been confounded,
[1]Wisdom knew the righteous man, and preserved him blameless unto God,

[1] Gr. *She.*

his own soul. This agrees with Philo's "Cain killed himself, not Abel" (*Det. Pot.* § 14). With this use of the Greek verb, cp. Ep. of Barnabas, xxi. (twice) and Prayer of Manasses, 13. Neither text nor Vulgate recognise the force of σύν (with) in the verb.

4. *for his cause*] The wickedness which brought the flood upon the earth is laid at the door of Cain and not of Adam, cp. ch. ii. 24. Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 2. 2) tells of the wickedness of Cain in the years after the murder of Abel, and of the wickedness of his posterity. Cp. Gen. vi. 4—6.

was drowning] Cp. Gen. vi. 17 ff.

again saved it] Cp. ch. xiv. 6, where Noah is called *the hope of the world*. The "earth" was saved in an indirect sense although it was drowned, its interests being identified with the human stock preserved through Noah in the ark. Wisdom watched over the ark, as she had watched over Adam, thus preserving the race a second time.

Guiding] lit. steering, Vulg. *gubernans.*

the righteous man] Noah is the first man, Gen. vi. 9, to be called *righteous* in the Bible (Philo, *Cong.* § 17). It is not an accident (Philo adds) that he is tenth from Adam, but righteousness stands to the conduct of life as the number ten to the number one.

by a poor piece of wood] Cp. 1 Pet. iii. 20 in which the instrument of safety is, not the ark, but the water which bore it; see ch. xiv. 5. In both passages the inadequacy of the means to the end is pointed to. The ark is not disparaged, for it is the work of Wisdom; but viewed from the point of view of the deluge, it is insignificant.

5. *when nations...had been confounded*] *confounded* (συγχυθέντων) recalls "confusion" (σύγχυσις, LXX. for Babel) in the account of the "confusion" of tongues (Gen. xi. 1—9). The "consenting together in wickedness" was the concerted action in building the tower, or (Grotius) universal idolatry. The writer makes a point of concord (ὁμόνοια) becoming confusion. The incident is introduced to bring out by contrast the fact that there still existed a small righteous remnant.

knew] Text follows ℵAC and Vulg. B reads *found* (εὗρεν). The reference is to Gen. xii. For the Divine knowledge of a man, cp. 1 Cor. viii. 3.

blameless unto God] The same word is used in Gen. xvii. 1 LXX. With this use of *unto God*, cp. Jon. iii. 3 LXX.; Acts vii. 20. For Abraham's character before God, see Gen. xviii. 18.

And kept him strong when his heart yearned toward his child.

6 While the ungodly were perishing, [1]wisdom delivered a righteous man,
When he fled from the fire that descended out of heaven on [2]Pentapolis.
7 To whose wickedness a smoking waste still witnesseth,
And plants bearing fair fruit that cometh not to ripeness;

[1] Gr. *she.* [2] That is, *the region of the five cities.*

when his heart yearned] lit. kept him strong against his compassion for his child: see Gen. xxii.; Ecclus. xliv. 20, Heb. xi. 17. Etheridge (*Targums* p. 226) quotes a *midrash* "While Sarah was yet sleeping, Abraham left in the early morning. Satana stood in his way as an aged man, and said 'Whither goest thou?' 'To pray.' 'But why with wood and knife?' 'I must needs prepare food.' 'Should a man like you kill his son who was given him in old age?' 'God has commanded.'"

6. *a righteous man*] For the escape of Lot from Sodom, see Gen. xix. 17 ff., cp. 2 Pet. ii. 7, 8, "righteous Lot."

Pentapolis] The group of five "cities of the plain," of which only Zoar was spared (cp. Gen. xiv. 2). "Provided it may be assumed that in Abraham's time what is now the shallow S. part of the Dead Sea was the 'Vale of Siddim,' and the morass es-Sebkha (on the S. of the Dead Sea) a fertile plain, it may reasonably be supposed that the other four cities were situated on this plain....The evidence that the post-biblical Zoar was at the S. end of the Dead Sea clearly cannot be resisted, and in the case of.. a well-known place, it seems scarcely likely that the Zoar of Josephus was on a different site from the biblical Zoar" (Prof. Driver in Hastings, *D. B.* iv. 986 b).

7. *a smoking waste still witnesseth*] Philo (*Abr.* § 27, *Mos.* ii. 10) mentions this phenomenon as still in existence. Smoke may have issued from the bituminous soil as in the Lydian Catacecaumene, or the notion may be due to the dense mist which rises from the basin of the Dead Sea. In the Greek *Acts of Pionius* this passage occurs "I myself, on crossing the Jordan saw a land which to this day witnesseth to the wrath that fell from God upon it, because of the sins wrought by its inhabitants. I saw smoke arising from it even till now, and the land scorched with fire, destitute of all fruit and water."

fruit that cometh not to ripeness] Cp. Dt. xxxii. 32 and Josephus, *Wars* iv. 8. 4 "There are still the remainders of that divine fire...the ashes still grow in their fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten; but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes."

Cp. Tert. *Apol.* § 40; Tac. *Hist.* v. 7. See Curzon, *Monasteries of the Levant*, p. 189, and Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 482.

Yea and a [1]disbelieving soul hath a memorial *there*, a pillar of salt *still* standing.

For having passed wisdom by, 8

Not only were they disabled from recognising the things which are good,

But they also left behind them [2]for *human* life a monument of their folly;

To the end that [3]where they [4]went astray they might fail even to be unseen:

[1] Or, *distrustful* [2] Or, *by their life*
[3] Gr. *wherein.* [4] Gr. *stumbled.*

a disbelieving soul] Cp. Gen. xix. 17, 26. In Clem. Rom. xi. Lot's wife is called "otherwise-minded and not in accord (with God)": her pillar exists to this day as "a warning to the double-minded and those who doubt the power of God."

hath a memorial] The Gk. word probably contains a double meaning (1) memorial, (2) tomb: according to the legend, her pillar was her tomb. Cp. Heraclitus' σῶμα σῆμα (p. 93).

Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11. 4) claims to have seen the very pillar: Irenaeus (*Haer.* iv. 31. 3) sees in its continued existence a picture of the Church's life. The story is readily accounted for by the remarkable rock formations in the *Jebel Usdum*, a range of cliffs at the south-west end of the Dead Sea, consisting of crystallised rock-salt. From the face of these cliffs great fragments are occasionally detached by the rains, and appear as "pillars of salt" (Sir G. Grove in Smith, *D. B.* iii. 1180). Prof. Driver (Hastings, *D. B.* iii. 152) quotes an American traveller who described one such pillar, which was about 40 ft. high, cylindrical in form, and rested on a kind of oval pedestal, some 50 ft. above the level of the sea. Such pillars are constantly in process of formation and destruction.

8. This verse contains the philosophy of *v.* 7, and is a variation upon Prov. i. 29—31. Those who reject Wisdom (like the men of Sodom and Lot's wife, a woman of Sodom) incur a double loss: they become spiritually blind, and they are held up to the reproach of future generations, with an unenviable immortality. Philo (*Conf. l.* § 8) speaks of them as "sterile in wisdom and blind in heart."

for human *life*] i.e. living men, Vulg. *hominibus*. Cp. 4 Macc. xvii. 14 "The world and human life were looking on." Marg. suggests *by their life*, their memorial corresponding to and springing out of their life, cp. the smoking land, the bitter fruit, the pillar of salt.

their folly] The opposite of wisdom, "godlessness."

they might fail even to be unseen] Their self-inflicted punishments, see xi. 16, springing out of the sins that produced them, proclaim publicly the misdeeds of those whom they overtook.

9 But wisdom delivered out of troubles those that waited on
her.

10 When a righteous man was a fugitive from a brother's
wrath, [1]wisdom guided him in straight paths;
She shewed him God's kingdom, and gave him knowledge
of holy things;
She prospered him in his toils, and multiplied the fruits of
his labour;
11 When in their covetousness *men* dealt hardly with him,
She stood by him and made him rich;
12 She guarded him from enemies,
And from those that lay in wait she kept him safe,
And over his sore conflict she watched as judge,

[1] Gr. *she*.

9. So much for the cities of the plain and their ungodly inhabitants. Turn now to the examples of those who cultivated Wisdom, and see what a deliverer she is.

10. *When a righteous man*] See Gen. xxvii. 41—45. The writer has applied the epithet *righteous* to Noah, Abraham, Lot, and *unrighteous* to Cain. Jacob here and Joseph (*v.* 13) are called *righteous*, while the same epithet is given to Israel in *v.* 20, in contradistinction to the Egyptians who are called *ungodly* (cp. *v.* 6 of the men of Sodom). There is a touch of patriotic bias in the characterisation (cp. esp. *v.* 15), which is very marked in the two succeeding chapters.

straight paths] Cp. Gen. xxviii. 20; Prov. iii. 6.

God's kingdom] Probably referring to Jacob's dream, Gen. xxviii. 10—17, in which God revealed to him some of the providential agencies of the kingdom of God.

knowledge of holy things] i.e. of supernatural mysteries. This may refer to the wrestling with the angel, Gen. xxxii. 24—32 "I have seen God face to face," and to the prophetic visions of Gen. xlviii., xlix.

prospered him] This may include the reflected prosperity of Laban, Gen. xxx. 30, as well as what accrued to himself, Gen. xxx. 43.

the fruits of his labour] lit. his labours, cp. viii. 7; Ecclus. xiv. 15.

11. See Gen. xxxi. 38—42. Wisdom helped him to prosper in spite of Laban's churlishness.

12. *guarded him from enemies*] Such as Laban, who was warned in a dream not to hurt Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 24, 29).

those that lay in wait] Esau (Gen. xxvii. 41, xxxii. 11, 20, xxxiii.). Deane suggests also a reference to the Canaanite tribes on the way to Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 5) upon which the "terror of God" had fallen.

over his sore conflict she watched as judge] Gen. xxxii. 24—30; Hos. xii. 3, 4. Vulg. *certamen dedit ut uinceret*. The Gk. verb has the

That he might know that godliness is more powerful than [1]all.

When a righteous man was sold, [2]wisdom forsook him not, 13
But [3]from sin she delivered him;
She went down with him into a dungeon,
And in bonds she left him not, 14
Till she brought him the sceptre of a kingdom,
And authority over those that dealt tyrannously with him;
She shewed them also to be false that had mockingly accused him,

[1] Gr. *every one.* [2] Gr. *she.*
[3] Or, *from the sin* of his brethren...*into a pit*

general sense of "acting as arbitrator, or umpire," cp. Philo, *Quis rerum* § 19: Vulg. goes beyond the meaning of the word. The writer suggests that not only has piety nothing to fear from men, but it actually prevails with God (Grimm).

That he might know] The wrestling with God was also a parable. To the writer every historic event has its value as a symbol of spiritual truth, cp. ch. xvi. 28. Like Robert Browning, he might say "My stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul: little else is worth study."

more powerful] Even than Jacob's own astuteness, cp. 1 Tim. iv. 8.

13. *was sold*] See Gen. xxxvii. 27, 28.

from sin] Vulg. *a peccatoribus.* This interpretation is accepted by marg., which reads "*from the sin* of his brethren," and renders λάκκον in next *l. pit*, this being the LXX. word for "pit" in Gen. xxxvii. 24. But inasmuch as in the first *l.* Joseph was said to have been sold, it seems almost contradictory to say later "but delivered him from his brothers." The reference is more probably to the temptation of Joseph and his answer (Gen. xxxix. 9).

with him into a dungeon] Either this or marg. is possible. But in Gen. xl. 15 LXX. λάκκος stands for the dungeon of Potiphar, and so probably here. Cp. Dan. iii. 49 LXX. "The angel of the Lord went down with them (*συνκατέβη*) into the furnace."

14. *And in bonds*] See Gen. xxxix. 21 ff. and xl. "It was not needful for the captain of the prison to watch Joseph,...because he saw that there was no fault in his hands; for the Word of the Lord was his helper." Etheridge, *Targum of Palestine* p. 296.

sceptre] Gk. *sceptres.* Plural of dignity, expressing the idea of power generally, Gen. xli. 39—45. Philo, *Jos.* § 21 writes "Pharaoh made him second in the kingdom, or rather (to speak the truth) king."

authority over those that dealt tyrannously] i.e. the Egyptians generally (Gen. xli. 44), whose representatives had imprisoned him.

shewed them also to be false] Potiphar's wife, Gen. xxxix. 17, 18.

had mockingly accused him] Vulg. has *maculauerunt*, "defamed";

And gave him eternal glory.

15 [1]Wisdom delivered a holy people and a blameless seed from
a nation of oppressors.
16 She entered into the soul of a servant of the Lord,
And withstood terrible kings in wonders and signs.
17 She rendered unto holy men a reward of their toils;

[1] Gr. *She.*

"mockingly" is not in the Greek. There may be a side-reference to Gen. xxxvii. 8, cp. xlix. 23.

gave him eternal glory] For the phrase, cp. Is. xxii. 22 LXX. "I will give him the glory of David." "Eternal" indicates rather the undying fame of Joseph, than his temporal reputation in Egypt and lordship over his brothers.

v. 15—21. Wisdom as the helper of Israel.

15. *holy people...blameless seed*] The writer assumes that Wisdom was on the side of Israel, and designates the people accordingly. He can only draw a convincing picture by isolating certain broad characteristics of the Israelite people: artistically he is correct, as the qualifications necessary for literal accuracy would weaken the impression he desires to convey, and are allowed for mentally by the Jewish circle he addresses. The Jews are the people of God, cp. Ex. xix. 6; ideally they take their character from the Name by which they are called: similarly the heathen as not knowing God are stigmatised as the reverse of all that is godly (*v.* 20, xii. 11). Deane rightly remarks that the expression does not point to any definite blamelessness in the Israelites, but is an official designation. That there were even traditions of idolatry among the Israelites in Egypt is plain from Jos. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xx. 8, xxiii. 3.

16. *She entered into the soul*] Cp. Ex. iv. 12, vii. 1.

a servant of the Lord] Moses alone is known as the servant (θεράπων) of the Lord in canonical books, although the word is applied to Aaron in Wisd. xviii. 21. The word carries a more honourable significance than "bondservant" (δοῦλος). Cp. Heb. iii. 5.

terrible kings] Possibly refers only to Pharaoh, the plural being employed in a general sense, cp. Ps. cv. 30 (but LXX. reading is not certain). But the reference is almost certainly identical with that in Ps. cxxxv. 9, 10, and includes kings outside Egypt, cp. Ps. cxxxvi. 17, 18.

wonders and signs] Cp. ch. viii. 8 and Ps. cxxxv. 9.

17. *holy men*] Again, the idealised Israel.

reward of their toils] The obvious reference seems to be Ex. xi. 2, 3, xii. 35, 36, although the borrowed jewels could hardly have repaid the people for their years of servitude. Liberty, and the catalogue of mercies recorded in *vv.* 17—19 should be included, as well as the

She guided them along a marvellous way,
And became unto them a covering in the day-time,
And a flame of stars through the night.
She brought them over the Red sea, 18
And led them through much water;
But their enemies she drowned, 19
And out of the bottom of the deep she cast them up.
Therefore the righteous spoiled the ungodly; 20
And they sang praise to thy holy name, O Lord,

"much substance" (Gen. xv. 14) gathered in Egypt which the people took with them (Ex. xii. 32, 38).

a marvellous way] Ex. xiii. 21, 22. With the line cp. Ps. cxxxix. 24 LXX. Philo (*Mos.* ii. 34) speaks of the path through the sea as "a marvellously wrought path" (μεγαλουργηθεῖσα).

became unto them a covering] The cloud was thought of not only as guide (Ex. xiii. 21), but as protection from the heat, see Num. x. 34; Ps cv. 39; cp. Is. iv. 5, 6. See chs. xviii. 3, xix. 7. Wisdom is here identified with the cloud. Such identification might easily spring from the language of Ex. xiv. 19, cp. the identification of the rock with Christ, borrowed from Jewish speculation, 1 Cor. x. 4. In *Mos.* i. 29 Philo writes of the cloud, in its aspect as guide, that possibly it concealed some ministering angel.

flame of stars] Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 14.

18. See Ex. xiv. Philo (*Mos.* ii. 34) amplifies the account of the passage of the sea, but adds no important traditional details.

19. Ex. xiv. 26—28. Vulg. makes the second *l. from the bottom of the deep she brought them up* refer to the Israelites, but Philo's use of ἀπεβράσθησαν in connection with the casting up of the Egyptian corpses (cp. *ἀνέβρασεν cast them up* here) makes it almost certain that text is right. The Pal. Targum has "The sea and the earth had controversy one with the other. The sea said to the earth, Receive thy children; and the earth said to the sea, Receive thy murderers. But the earth willed not to swallow them, and the sea willed not to overwhelm them.... Then God swore to the earth that He would not require them of her in the world to come. Then did the earth open her mouth and swallow them up." Etheridge, *Targums* p. 494.

20. *Therefore...spoiled the ungodly*] Because the Egyptians were dead on the sea-shore, the Israelites could take their spoil. The Greek word is the same as that in Ex. xii. 36 of the spoiling of the Egyptians before the departure, but no doubt the reference is to the tradition mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 16. 6 and iii. 1. 4). "On the next day Moses gathered the weapons of the Egyptians, which were brought to the camp of the Hebrews by the current of the sea, and the force of the wind assisting it; and he conjectured that this also happened by Divine Providence, that so they might not be destitute of weapons."

sang praise] Ex. xv. 1—22.

And extolled with one accord thy hand that fought for them:
21 Because wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb,
And made the tongues of babes to speak clearly.

11 She prospered their works in the hand of a holy prophet.

2 They journeyed through a desert without inhabitant,

extolled] Cp. 3 Macc. ii. 8.

with one accord] Philo (*Mos.* ii. 34) writes "Moses divided the people into two bands of men and women, to sing in harmony to the Creator-Father; for men's deep voices, and the clear tones of women, blend in a sweet and melodious strain. The many thousands of the people he persuaded to join together in singing with concerted voices of those marvellous works."

21. *the mouth of the dumb*] A clear reminiscence of Ex. iv. 11, 12. The plural, by a kind of poetic generalisation, first points to Moses, and then includes all the people.

tongues of babes] Cp. Ps. viii. 2.

speak clearly] Cp. Is. xxxv. 6 LXX. Wisdom gave articulate utterance to those who were but babes in eloquence. The language is general and rhetorical: no definite allusion is intended, unless perhaps to what Philo records (*Mos.* ii. 34), viz. that the two bodies of singers, with no previous rehearsal, found themselves joining in the same words of praise.

CH. XI. **1**—CH. XII. **2.** CONTRAST BETWEEN THE FORTUNES OF ISRAEL AND EGYPT IN RESPECT OF WATER. REFLECTIONS ON THE PURPOSE FOR WHICH THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT ASSUMED THEIR PARTICULAR FORMS. GOD'S DEALINGS WITH ISRAEL FOR ITS PRESERVATION AND WITH EGYPT FOR PUNISHMENT.

vv. **1—3.** WISDOM PRESERVED ISRAEL DURING THE WANDERINGS.

1. *She prospered their works*] Wisdom is still the subject. For a similar phrase, see Gen. xxxix. 23 LXX. *In the hand* is a common Hebraism (cp. Ps. lxxvii. 20; Neh. ix. 14), signifying "by the agency of."

a holy prophet] Moses, cp. Dt. xviii. 15; Hos. xii. 13. For the expression, cp. St Luke i. 70. Philo (*Mos.* ii. 23) writes of Moses, that as he was the greatest king, lawgiver, and high priest, so he was also the most famous prophet, cp. Dt. xxxiv. 10. *vv.* 2, 3 are an expansion of this *v.*

2. *desert without inhabitant*] Cp. Dt. xxxii. 10; Ps. cvii. 4. The idea is not that they came upon no tribes inhabiting the desert, but that the desert had no established city-life. For ἀοίκητος (uninhabited) cp. Hos. xiii. 5.

And in trackless regions they pitched their tents.
They withstood enemies, and [1]repelled foes. 3
They thirsted, and they called upon thee, 4
And there was given them water out of [2]the [3]flinty rock,
And healing of their thirst out of the hard stone.
For by what things their foes were punished, 5
By these they in their need were benefited.
[4]When *the enemy* were troubled with clotted blood instead of 6
a river's ever-flowing fountain,

[1] Or, *took vengeance on foes* [2] Or, *the steep rock* [3] See Deut. viii. 15; Ps. cxiv. 8. [4] The text of this verse is perhaps corrupt.

in trackless regions] For ἄβατος, cp. Ps. lxiii. 1 LXX. Hobab was their guide, Num. x. 29—32.

pitched their tents] Perhaps a reference to Succoth (Tents), the first encampment of the Israelites after leaving Egypt, Ex. xii. 37. Cp. the institution of the feast of Tabernacles, Lev. xxiii. 43.

3. There is probably no distinction to be observed between *enemies* and *foes*: poetical variation accounts for the reduplication. Among the enemies in the wanderings were the Amalekites, Ex. xvii.; Arad, Sihon and Og, Num. xxi.; the Midianites, Num. xxxi.

vv. 4—10. How water was used to bless the Israelites and to punish the Egyptians.

4. *They thirsted*] Ex. xvii. 1—7; see also Num. xx. 8—11. The people could only be said to have called upon God for water indirectly, through Moses, cp. Ps. cvii. 5, 6. The writer ignores their murmurings.

water out of the flinty rock] ἀκροτόμου, Vulg. *altissima*, marg. *steep*. The Gk. word (*ἀκρότομος*), properly "steep," "precipitous," is the LXX. rendering of the Heb. word for "flinty" in Dt. viii. 15; Job xxviii. 9; Ps. cxiv. 8. Philo (*All.* ii. 21) writes, "The 'rock of flint' is the Wisdom of God, from which He feeds the souls that love Him"; cp. 1 Cor. x. 4.

healing of their thirst] For the phrase, cp. 4 Macc. iii. 10, and Philo, *Mos.* i. 38, *Post. Cain* 41, *Somn.* ii. 9.

5. Thus water was a boon to the Israelites, but to the Egyptians it was the medium of great misery. Water was miraculously provided to relieve the thirst of the Israelites, but water was transformed into a plague for the Egyptians (Ex. vii. 19, xvii. 6). There is a certain resemblance between this contrast and that in 1 Pet. iii. 20, where the drowning of the world by water is contrasted with the saving of the ark by the water which carried it on its waves.

6. *When* the enemy *were troubled*] Text translates B. This rendering, adopted by Vulg., causes an anacoluthon. AC read *ταραχθέντος*, in

7 To rebuke the decree for the slaying of babes,
Thou gavest them abundant water beyond all hope,
8 Having shewn *them* by [1]the thirst which they had suffered
how thou didst punish the adversaries.
9 For when they were tried, albeit but in mercy chastened,

[1] Gr. *the then thirst.*

which case the rendering is "Instead of the ever-flowing fountain of a river now troubled with clotted blood, Thou gavest to Israel abundant water." The sense is unaffected in either case, although the clauses are better balanced in text.

clotted blood] Cp. Ex. vii. 19—25. Philo (*Mos.* i. 17) writes that God determined to plague the Egyptians by water before anything else, because they exaggerated its worth, and viewed it as the source of all creative power. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 14. 1, iii. 1. 4) writes that the Nile water was sweet for the Irsaelites, all the time that it was blood for the Egyptians.

7. *To rebuke the decree*] Ex. i. 15, 16, 22. A double punishment for a twofold sin is here set forth. Pharaoh was punished with scarcity of water because he had sinned through water; and, secondly, the Nile was turned to blood because he had sinned by the blood of the firstborn. Cp. Etheridge. *Targums* p. 448 "The king of Mizraim was struck (with disease), and he commanded to kill the firstborn of the sons of Israel that he might bathe himself in their blood." This incident, not recorded in Scripture, is held to have occurred while Moses was in the land of Midian. Farrar points out that Scripture does not allude to the notion that the plagues were related by any causal connection to the sins of the Egyptians: they are set forth as signs of power, to urge Pharaoh to obedience to God.

8. This *v.* shows that the writer has no thought of the tradition quoted from Josephus (see *v.* 6), but is contrasting the gift of water to Israel in the wilderness with the failure of water experienced by the Egyptians. Confident in his thesis that what punished Egypt benefited Israel, he argues that the Israelites were allowed to thirst for a little, in order that they might be able to measure the proportionately worse sufferings of the Egyptians when their water had been turned into blood. According to the writer, no moral purpose was served by the scarcity of water experienced by Israel: the main reason was that their imagination might be whetted to appreciate the tortures endured by the Egyptians. Needless to say this is not the Scriptural account, which for moral sublimity is unsurpassed, Dt. viii. 2, 3.

9. *when they were tried*] The Israelites, though chastened by mercy, could nevertheless argue from the known to the unknown, and conceive what the chastenings of anger might be. The writer is hardly consistent in these utterances with those humane sentiments at the end of the chapter which are the beauty of the Book of Wisdom, *vv.* 23—26. God is represented here as arbitrarily restricting His mercy to Israel,

They learned how the ungodly were tormented, being judged with wrath:
For these, as a father, admonishing them, thou didst prove; 10
But those, as a stern king, condemning them, thou didst search out.
Yea and whether they were far off *from the righteous* or near 11
them, they were alike distressed;
For a double grief took hold on them, 12
And a groaning at the remembrance of things past.

and His wrath to Egypt, but a truer version of the facts may be seen in Ex. xxxii. 28; Num. xi. 33.

the ungodly] The writer's national particularism shows itself in his use of *ungodly* for the Egyptians (cp. xii. 11) in contrast with the "holy people and blameless seed," x. 15.

A.V. introduces here without any warrant from MSS. or versions the third clause of *v.* 14. The change has nothing to recommend it, and spoils the carefully arranged parallelism of the three consecutive contrasts in *vv.* 8, 9, 10.

10. The writer affirms that God's purposes towards Israel were educative, and towards Egypt retributive. The two contradictions of God as avenger and as forgiver, and of God as God of Israel and God of all, though reconciled in the Incarnation, were for the writer irreconcilable, and yet caused him but slight perplexity. This verse belongs to the same dispensation that produced the imprecatory Psalms, cp. Mal. i. 2, 3 "I loved Jacob, and I hated Esau."

as a father] Cp. Dt. viii. 5; 2 Sam. vii. 14. Contrast with this verse Acts x. 35; Rom. ii. 9.

vv. **11—14.** THE EFFECT OF THE MIRACLE OF THE WATER FROM THE ROCK UPON THE EGYPTIANS.

11. *far off...or near*] When Israel was in Egypt and the Nile was as blood, the Egyptians suffered: but when Israel was in the wilderness, and the Nile was once more water, the Egyptians suffered no less. This time mentally: for it galled them to hear the report that water, which had been so hostile to themselves, had befriended the escaping Israelites.

12. *a double grief*] (1) The objective tortures of thirst, now past; (2) the subjective annoyance at the good fortune of the Israelites.

and a groaning] The news from the wilderness revived the slumbering memories of the water-famine. To be reminded of Israel was to be reminded of the stricken Nile. Vulg. *gemitus cum memoria praeteritorum* supports text in following ℵA παρελθόντων for παρελθουσῶν of BC.

13 For when they heard that through their own punishments
the others [1]had been benefited,
They felt *the presence of* the Lord;
14 For him who long before was [2]cast forth and exposed they
left off mocking:
In the last issue of what came to pass [3]they marvelled,
Having thirsted in another manner than the righteous.

[1] Some authorities read *were being*. [2] Some authorities read *cast forth in hatred they*. [3] Or, *they marvelled* at him

13. *For*] What made the annoyance of the Egyptians more intolerable, and so doubled their grief, was the realisation that Jehovah, the God of Moses whom they had despised, had triumphed over the gods of Egypt, cp. Ex. xii. 12.

their own punishments] i.e. the "medium of their own punishment," water. Perhaps the punishment of the Egyptians by water, when Israel escaped and their own forces were destroyed, is also in the writer's mind.

had been benefited] Marg. following B *were being*; so Vulg. *bene secum agi*. It would be a worse blow to the Egyptians to know that Israel was being *continuously* benefited by water.

They felt...the Lord] Cp. xii. 27; Ex. v. 2.

14. *cast forth and exposed*] Text adopts the reading of B ἐν ἐκθέσει, which has the support of xviii. 5. Marg. *cast forth in hatred* follows ℵAC ἐν ἐχθεσει (σι) : for ἔχθος in pl., cp. Hom. *Il.* iii. 416. The latter is to be preferred. The exposure of Moses in his infancy is not germane to the topic in hand, nor has it any connection with the "mocking" of the Egyptians: on the other hand, *cast forth in hatred* refers plainly to Ex. x. 11, 28. πάλαι (long before) has a purely relative significance, and is as applicable to Pharaoh's rejection of Moses as to Moses' exposure in infancy.

they left off mocking] The writer adds this touch from his own fancy: there is no doubt that the attitude of the Egyptians towards Moses must have been allied to mockery, when some of the plagues were matched by the enchantments of the magicians. The attitude of contempt for Moses the spokesman of Israel is not incompatible with considerable regard for him as a man, Ex. xi. 3.

In the last issue] The time to which this clause refers is fixed by the succeeding one. The writer postulates that news reached Egypt of the miracle of the smitten rock, and that the tidings caused Egypt to marvel at the man whom for so long it had flouted. This clause rests on as little Scriptural authority as the one before.

of what came to pass] τῶν ἐκβάσεων refers not to the ten plagues (Grimm) but to the whole series of events which reached its climax at Massah, Ex. xvii.

Having thirsted in another manner] A mild way of saying "with sufferings far beyond those of the Israelites." This sentence, which

But in requital of the senseless imaginings of their un- 15
righteousness,
Wherein they were led astray to worship irrational reptiles
and wretched vermin,
Thou didst send upon them a multitude of irrational
creatures for vengeance;
That they might learn, that by what things a man sinneth, 16
by these he is punished.

A V. transferred to end of *v.* 9, is rightly kept in its place by Vulg., containing as it does the reason why the contempt of the Egyptians was turned into respect.

vv. 15—20. The plagues of frogs and lice.

15. *in requital of...*] A new idea unfolds itself. The Egyptians were unrighteous not only in their actions, but in their worship. If they did not know God, they were to be blamed for not knowing Him. Their ignorance was not intellectual, it was moral. Unrighteousness was the character of their creed and cult. This unrighteousness gave birth to "senseless imaginings" (again, moral rather than intellectual, ch. i. 3), cp. Rom. i. 21—23. And as they thought in their hearts, so did God visit them: as they loved the creature more than the Creator, God gave them their desire.

irrational reptiles] *Reptiles* includes all creeping things. Not only did Serpent-worship exist in Egypt, but also the worship of creatures of all kinds from the crocodile to the beetle.

wretched vermin] κνώδαλα is as vague a word as our "creatures." For *wretched* (lit. cheap), cp. Philo, *Mos.* i. 19 "If God desires to employ instruments for His punishments, He does not use the largest and strongest, for He thinks little of their prowess, but He furnishes the small and wretched (εὐτελῆ) with invincible powers and punishes the wrongdoers by their means" (referring to the lice, Ex. viii. 16 ff.).

irrational creatures] The plagues of frogs, lice, flies (Ex. viii.), locusts (Ex. x.). For the flies, see Philo's imaginative description in *Mos.* i. 23. With this use of the creatures venerated by the Egyptians, for their punishment by God, should be contrasted their use by Him for the benefit of Israel. As lice and flies were sent to plague the Egyptians, so quails were sent to feed the Israelites, ch. xv. 18 ff.

16. The Egyptians received punishment in the particular forms which it took, in order that they might be forced to recognise a great moral law "As a man sins, so is he punished." This law acts with unfailing certainty in the spiritual sphere alone, where there is no exception to the rule that a man reaps as he sows. The penalty for an untruth is untruthfulness. If the writer had confined himself to the inward sphere, his doctrine could not be challenged. For in the external world,

17 For thine all-powerful hand,
That created the world out of formless matter,

although physical sins often entail physical consequences, it is by no means universally true that the sinner suffers by his own sin. There are instances of dramatic justice, but it is their rarity which makes them striking, cp. Adoni-bezek, Judg. i. 7; Saul, 1 Sam. xv. 23; see Rev. xvi. 6. But these examples do not correspond completely to the idea of "hoist with his own petard": the true illustration is Ps. vii. 15 "He is...fallen into the ditch which he made," cp. Ps. lvii. 6. But the application of the law to the plagues of frogs and lice and flies is very artificial. There is no inevitable causal connection between the Egyptian gods and the plagues. The most that can be said is that the Egyptians saw the lesson of their folly emphasised when they were plagued through their deities. See xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 4, xix. 13; Job iv. 8; Ps. cix. 17; Prov. v. 22; Is. xxx. 3, 16; Ez. xxxv. 6; Obad. 15; 2 Macc. ix. 6; cp. Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 22; Jub. iv. 31; Test. xii Patr. *Gad* v, and Etheridge, *Targûms* p. 505.

17. *thine all-powerful hand*] Some would identify the *hand* of God with Wisdom, cp. ch. xiv. 6. Deane observes that in Is. xlviii. 13 "hand" is rendered "word" by the Chaldee paraphrast: but cp. "the finger of God" in connection with the plague of lice, Ex. viii. 19. For the epithet, cp. xviii. 15.

created...formless matter] *Formless matter* is a Greek philosophical expression, belonging to a system of speculation altogether different from that of the Jews. The Jews believed in a creation out of nothing; the Greeks believed in the eternity of matter (ὕλη) and the arrangement of matter by mind, cp. Anaxagoras, Diog. La. ii. 3. There was a conflict, therefore, between philosophic dualism and religious monism: the Greeks conceived of two preexisting eternals, God and matter, while the Jews held that God created all things either out of nothing or out of Himself. It is impossible to say with certainty which view was held by the writer of Wisdom: even Philo was not consistent, and oscillated between the two positions, and the writer of Wisdom was far more of a Hebraist than Philo. It is quite possible that *formless matter* (ἄμορφος ὕλη) stands as a convenient Greek symbol for the Hebrew of Gen. i. 2, which is rendered by LXX. ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος (invisible and unorganised). Further the use of κτίζειν (create) here is non-committal: it leaves the origin of matter out of sight, and deals merely with the arrangement of matter. Cp. xiii. 3, where ἔκτισεν is equivalent to κατασκευάσας in xiii. 4.

The extreme fluidity of thought on this subject may be seen by contrasting Philo, *Somn.* i. 13 "God not only brought the world into visible manifestation, but He made things which before were not, seeing that He is not only demiurge but creator" with his affirmation of Aristotle's dictum, "It is impossible for anything to be made out of that which is not," *de Incorr. Mundi* § 2. In *Cher.* § 35 he lays down four causes of Creation, God the agent (ὑφ' οὗ), the Logos the instru-

Lacked not means to send upon them a multitude of bears,
or fierce lions,
Or [1]new-created wild beasts, full of rage, *of* unknown *kind*, 18
Either breathing out a blast of fiery breath,
Or blowing forth *from their nostrils* noisome smoke,
Or flashing dreadful sparkles from their eyes;
Which had power not only to consume them by their 19
[2]violence,
But to destroy them even by the terror of their sight.
Yea and without these might they have fallen by a single 20
breath,
Being pursued by Justice, and scattered abroad by the
breath of thy power.

[1] Some authorities read *unknown wild beasts, full of new-created rage.*
[2] Gr. *harmfulness.*

ment (δι' οὗ), matter the source (ἐξ οὗ), and God's goodness the final cause (δι' ὅ). This analysis plainly puts matter on a footing of pre-existence. For a very clear statement of the rival theories of Creation, see P. N. Waggett, *Scientific Temper in Religion* pp. 165—169, 170, 171. Bois (*Orig. J. A. Phil.* pp. 265 ff.) concludes that *formless matter* means for the writer what it would have meant for a Greek philosopher, and that he uses κτίζειν (create) in the sense of "arrange." He admits however that in a transition-document like Wisdom, it is quite possible that both the Greek and Hebrew ideas are found with no attempt made to reconcile them, and that κτίζειν here might have the sense of "create."

Lacked not means] Cp. xii. 9. God who can do the greater, can do the less.

bears or...lions] Philo (*Mos.* i. 19) asks "Why did God visit the land with such insignificant creatures, and omit to send bears or lions or leopards or other kinds of fierce animals?" The noisome beast was one of God's four sore judgments, Ezek. xiv. 21; cp. Lev. xxvi. 22; 2 Kings xvii. 26; Jer. viii. 17.

18. *new-created...full of rage*] The epithet applied to the divine hailstorm, ch. v. 22. God who created the world, might have created special instruments of punishment. Some would render *full of poison* (θυμός). Philo (*Mos.* i. 19) asks further "Why did not God send even the Egyptian asps, whose bite is fatal?" cp. Dt. xxxii. 33 LXX.

19. God could have sent creatures the very sight of which might have destroyed the Egyptians. The thought is hardly (as Farrar thinks) of the basilisk which was reputed to kill with its glance.

20. *by a single breath*] Cp. 2 Kings xix. 7; Job iv. 9; Is. xi. 4.

Justice] Cp. Acts xxviii. 4. Vulg. *persecutionem passi ab ipsis factis suis* suggests comparison with ch. xiv. 31. See *v.* 16.

scattered abroad by the breath of thy power] The figure is the same as in ch. v. 23. Cp. Is. xl. 24.

But by measure and number and weight thou didst order all things.

21 For to be greatly strong is thine at all times;
And the might of thine arm who shall withstand?
22 Because the whole world before thee is as [1]a grain [2]in a balance,

[1] Gr. *that which* just *turneth.* [2] Gr. *from.*

by measure and number and weight thou didst order all things] God is a God of order: force is not His distinguishing attribute (*Ep. to Diogn.* vii. 4): inflexible purpose and unfailing mercy are His most notable characteristics. Hence, the sins of the Egyptians did not divert God from His settled will. In the beginning, God had imprinted on the universe a uniform and harmonious order: by this He was Himself bound as He estimated the offences of men, and dealt out their punishments in proportion. For the collocation of *measure*, *number*, and *weight*, cp. Job xxviii. 25; Is. xl. 12, 26; Philo, *Somn.* ii. 29 "God and not the mind of man measures, weighs and numbers all things, and circumscribes them with bounds and limits"; and Charles, *Enoch*, p. 132 "In apocryphal literature historical events are methodically arranged under artificial categories of measure, number, weight (Wisdom xi. 20; 4 Esdr. iv. 36, 37)." "He hath weighed the world in the balance; and by measure hath He measured the times, and by number hath He numbered the seasons; and He shall not move nor stir them, until the said measure be fulfilled," 4 Esdr. l.c. Cp. Philo, *Mut.* § 40 for *measure* and *weight*, and Test. xii Patr. *Naphth.* ii, for *weight*, *measure*, and *rule.*

v. 21—xii. 2. GOD IS LOVE, AND IS MERCIFUL AS WELL AS MIGHTY.

21. *For to be greatly strong*] The reason why God might have punished the Egyptians with the terrors set forth in *vv.* 17—20. Cp. 1 Chr. xxix. 11 and Philo (*Mos.* i. 19) "God is the highest and greatest power."

who shall withstand?] Cp. xii. 12. A conflation of these two passages appears in Clem. Rom. xxvii. "Who shall say unto Him, What hast thou done? or who shall resist the might of His strength?" This and ch. ii. 24 are the earliest known patristic quotations from Wisdom.

22. There is a reminiscence in this *v.* of Is. xl. 12—24, in which the insignificance of man by the side of God is set forth; cp. 2 Macc. viii. 18.

grain in a balance] Vulg. *momentum staterae*, lit. (as marg.) *that which* just *turneth the balance*, and so the tiniest atom that makes the scale-pan dip. Cp. Is. xl. 15. The figure of weights and scales (*v.* 20) is resumed, and enables the writer to combine the two thoughts of the exceeding smallness of the world and the refined delicacy of God's equity.

And as a drop of dew that at morning cometh down upon
the earth.
But thou hast mercy on all men, because thou hast power 23
to do all things,
And thou overlookest the sins of men to the end they may
repent.
For thou lovest all things that are, 24
And abhorrest none of the things which thou didst make;
For never wouldest thou have formed anything if thou didst
hate it.

drop of dew] A type of man's littleness and transitoriness. See Hos. vi. 4, xiii. 3. Cp. Is. xl. 6, 7.

23. *mercy on all*] Ecclus. xviii. 13 "The mercy of the Lord is on all flesh."

power to do all things] Job x. 13 LXX., xlii. 2; Philo, *Opif.* § 14. The combination of mercy and power is brought out in xii. 16, 18, 20. The summit of strength is self-control. For the two great attributes of God, His goodness and His power, see Philo, *Sacr.* § 15. The Gelasian Collect for the 11th S. after Trinity is founded on this *v.* "O God, who declarest Thy almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity." The combination is first seen in Ps. lxii. 11, 12 "Power belongeth unto God; also unto Thee, Lord, belongeth mercy," cp. Ex. xxxiii. 17 ff. Farrar quotes *Merchant of Venice*, iv. 1.

> "It is an attribute to God Himself,
> And earthly power doth then shew likest God's
> When Mercy seasons Justice."

thou overlookest] Cp. Acts xvii. 30; Rom. iii. 25 R.V.

they may repent] Rom. ii. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 9. Cp. Ecclus. xvii. 29 and Philo, *Mos.* i. 19 "God willed rather to admonish the inhabitants of Egypt than to destroy them," and id. *Fug.* § 18 "God is not inexorable, but kind because of the gentleness of His nature; whoso knows this, though he have sinned, may turn and repent with full hope of amnesty (ἀμνηστία)."

24. *thou lovest all things*] Ps. cxlv. 8, 9. For God's goodness as the final cause of Creation, see Philo, *Cher.* § 35.

abhorrest none of the things] Cp. the Collect for Ash Wednesday, and the third Collect for Good Friday, and Philo, *Fug.* § 18 "Mercy, whereby the Creator hath pity upon His own work."

never wouldest thou have formed] This utterance is hardly consistent with xii. 11 a, but it is truer. For whatever may be said of the mercies of a corrective discipline (xii. 10), it is hard to see how a seed "accursed from the beginning," and "with wickedness inborn" (xii. 10, 11) is other than the victim of pre-reprobation.

25 And how would anything have endured, except thou hadst willed it?
Or that which was not called by thee, *how would* it have been preserved?
26 But thou sparest all things, because they are thine,
O Sovereign Lord, thou lover of *men's* [1]lives;
12 For thine incorruptible spirit is in all things.

[1] Or, *souls*

25. *except thou hadst willed it*] Ps. cxix. 91 LXX.

called by thee] i.e. into existence. Cp. Is. xli. 4 and Rom. iv. 17 (see Sanday and Headlam *in loc.*).

have been preserved] The word (διετηρήθη) is the LXX. word used of Pharaoh in Ex. ix. 16, recalled here no doubt purposely.

26. *because they are thine*] This *v.* and xii. 1 must be taken together. They furnish an additional reason why God spares such as the Egyptians. God's mercy is the outcome of more than love: they are in the world by His decree, *v.* 25; they are His. The meaning of "His" is explained in xii. 1. To have God as Father, i.e. to have been created by God, is to have God's spirit within. God's spirit is an indissoluble link between God and them; a true immanence is a principle of unity. That can never be beyond the help of God which has God's spirit within it: therefore, God who breaks not the bruised reed, spares in hope. *Thou sparest, because*, cp. xii. 16, xv. 2; Ps. ciii. 13.

O Sovereign Lord] This title follows naturally on the acknowledgment of God's ownership of the souls He has made. Cp. Ep. of Jer. (Bar. vi.) 5; Clem. Rom. lxi. 1, 2.

thou lover of men's *lives*] Or as marg. *lover of* men's *souls*. The author gives a new meaning to the word (φιλόψυχος) which in class. Gk. means "fond of life," "cowardly." Cp. i. 13; Ezek. xviii. 4; St Matt. xviii. 14; St Luke ix. 56.

xii. 1. *thine incorruptible spirit*] All things, wicked men included, live by the breath of the Divine. Even though they refuse the moral indwelling, yet the physical dependence still survives, cp. Job xxxiii. 4; Ps. civ. 30. The writer was no doubt aware of the Greek conception of a "soul of the world," and was probably influenced by it in the expressions he employs regarding Wisdom, i. 7, vii. 24, viii. 1; but there is nothing to decide whether in this passage his thought is Hebrew or Greek. If Greek, *spirit* must be identified with Wisdom, as the agent of the immanence of God; if Hebrew, spirit stands not for a Being distinct from God, but for the characteristic conception of "God in operation" (Heb. *ruach*). On this see Davidson, *Theol. of O.T.* p. 193. "All life, whether in man, or in the lower creatures, or in the world, is an effect of the *ruach*, the spirit of God. God's spirit is merely God in His efficiency—God exercising power, communicating Himself, or

Wherefore thou convictest by little and little them that [1]fall 2
from the right way,
And, putting them in remembrance by the *very* things
wherein they sin, dost thou admonish them,
That escaping from their wickedness they may believe on
thee, O Lord.

For verily the old inhabitants of thy holy land, 3
Hating *them* because they practised detestable works of 4
enchantments and unholy rites

[1] Gr. *fall aside.*

operating. This power may be simply vital power, physical life; or it may be intellectual, moral, or religious life."

2. *Wherefore*] Because there is a germ of the Divine nature even in the heathen.

convictest by little and little] By letting their own sins recoil upon them rather than by instant destruction.

admonish] In *v.* 10 Israel was admonished, while Egypt was condemned; but here the writer agrees with Philo, *Mos.* i. 19 (see note on *v.* 23), that God's purpose was educative. Plagues of animals were sent that Egypt might learn that it had sinned through animals.

may believe on thee] The writer regards idolatry as due to moral rather than intellectual deficiency, and holds that moral correction would lead the heathen to the acknowledgment of the true God.

Ch. XII. 3—27.

God, though His power is absolute, was as forbearing in the use of it towards the Canaanites as towards the Egyptians. His judgments are altogether righteous. His bearing is a lesson to Israel.

vv. **3—11.** The Canaanites excited the wrath of God with their debasing cults, but He was patient with them.

3. *the old inhabitants*] The writer passes from the Egyptians to the Canaanites, and emphasizes the new topic by placing it at the beginning of the long sentence which covers *vv.* 3—6. The governing verb is found at end of *v.* 6. (*Thy*) *holy land* is first found in Zech. ii. 12, cp. 2 Macc. i. 7.

4. *Hating* them] Cp. Hos. ix. 15. This is not more than a formal contradiction of ch. xi. 24; *qua* sinner, a man is bound up with the sins which God detests, cp. xiv. 8, 9. The writer expressly says *hating them on the ground that*, a qualification which limits *hating* more narrowly in the Greek than in the English.

works of enchantments] The enchanter, or sorcerer (Dt. xviii. 10), was one who, by means of the superstitious use of drugs, herbs, spells,

5 ([1] Merciless slaughters of children,
And sacrificial banquets of men's flesh and of blood),
6 Confederates in an impious fellowship,
And murderers of their own helpless babes,
It was thy counsel to destroy by the hands of our fathers;

[1] The words rendered *slaughters* and *impious* in verses 5 and 6 differ but slightly from the readings of the Greek text, which here yield no sense.

produced magical effects. See Driver, *Deut.* p. 225. For the superstitions of the Canaanites, see Dt. xii. 29—31, xviii. 9—14.

5. *slaughters of children*] Reading *φόνους*. This was the principal enormity of the Canaanites, whose example Ahab followed (2 Kings xvi. 3), cp. Ps. cvi. 34—38. The object of child-sacrifice was for the purpose of averting calamity or obtaining an oracle, see Lev. xviii. 21, and Mesha's sacrifice, 2 Kings iii. 27.

sacrificial banquets] Easier than MS. would be *σπλαγχνοφάγον*, an Aeschylean type of compound with gen.; lit. "the banquet gorging itself with human flesh and blood." No corroboration seems forthcoming for this charge against the Canaanites, but cp. Ezek. xvi. 20. Religious feasts, in which the flesh of enemies is consumed, are not uncommon in primitive tribes. How easily such charges obtain credence may be seen from the accusations laid against the primitive Christians of "Thyestean banquets," and those even in modern times brought against the Jews in Russia.

6. *Confederates*] A discussion of the Greek reading which has baffled all elucidators would be out of place. Text follows Grimm (1837) in reading *ἐκμυσοῦς μύστας θιάσου*.

The phrase, which is in apposition to the subject of the sentence (*v.* 4) beginning *because they practised*, points to some associated act of worship of an esoteric kind.

murderers] For the sacrifice of a child by its parent, as being the most precious offering to be found, cp. Abraham, Jephthah, Mesha, Ahab, Hiel the Bethelite (?), and in Greek literature, Agamemnon and Iphigenia. On this subject very interesting light has been thrown by the recent discoveries at Gezer, see Quarterly Statement of Pal. Expl. Fund, Oct. 1903. The reference in 1 Kings xvi. 34 to the foundation of the rebuilt Jericho seems to point to child-sacrifices, the traces of which have been brought to light by Mr Macalister. When a house or public structure was to be erected, an infant, probably alive, was laid underneath the wall; or else (later) the child was killed, and its body placed in a jar which was then buried, either at the corner of the house, or under the door. If the reference in the text is not to this particular practice, it at least serves to throw light on the class of sacrifice enjoined by Canaanitish religions. Cp. Jer. xix. 4, 5.

It was thy counsel to destroy] Two reasons are assigned in Dt. for the expulsion of the Canaanites (*a*) because God loved Israel,

That the land which in thy sight is most precious of all *lands* 7
Might receive a worthy colony of God's [1]servants.
Nevertheless even these thou didst spare as *being* men, 8
And thou sentest [2]hornets as forerunners of thy host,
To cause them to perish by little and little;
Not that thou wast unable to subdue the ungodly under the 9
hand of the righteous in battle,
Or by terrible beasts or by *one* stern word to make away
with them at once;

[1] Or, *children* [2] Or, *wasps*

Dt. iv. 37, 38; (*b*) because of the wickedness of the Canaanites, Dt. ix. 5; cp. Gen. xv. 16. Israel was God's instrument, Ex. xxiii. 23; Dt. vii. 2.

7. *the land...most precious*] Cp. Dt. xi. 12. Farrar quotes several Jewish sayings in honour of the holy land: e.g. "He who traverses so much as four ells in the land of Israel is sure of eternal life" (*Kethuboth*, f. iii. 1).

a worthy colony] *Colony* (ἀποικία) was the classical word for a party proceeding from the motherland and settling in a new country. Here, Egypt is viewed as the starting-point, while Canaan is being colonized by the emigrants from Egypt. The more proper use of the word by Jews is that found in 3 Macc. vi. 10 of the Dispersion in Egypt, and in Jer. xxix. 1 and 2 Esdr. i. 11 of the captivity in Babylon. *Worthy*: the land that was most precious in God's eyes did not possess inhabitants worthy of their dwelling-place, as long as rites involving human sacrifice endured.

8. *as* being *men*] Cp. Gen. vi. 3, and Ps. lxxviii. 39, ciii. 14. 15.

hornets] Marg. (as Greek) *wasps*, see Ex. xxiii. 28; Dt. vii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 12. There have always been two views of the promise to expel with the hornet. Metaphorical interpretations rely on the use of the simile of bees in Dt. i. 44, and on Ex. xxiii. 27 "the terror." Wisdom however takes the promise literally.

Driver (*Deut.* p. 104) writes that four species of hornet exist in Palestine, two of which construct their nests underground or in cavities of rocks: the combined attack of a swarm has been known to be fatal.

by little and little] See Ex. xxiii. 29, 30.

9. *Not that thou wast unable*] The same argument as in xi. 17 ff.

in battle] As in the case of Ai (Josh. viii.), and Amalek (Ex. xvii.).

beasts] Cp. Dt. xxxii. 24, and note on xi. 17.

by one *stern word*] Cp. xviii. 15, where the same epithet (ἀπότομος) is applied to the Logos "a stern warrior." Cp. also Ex. xxiii. 27 "My fear," and Is. xxxvii. 7 "a blast, a rumour."

at once] Vulg. *simul*, in contrast with *by little and little*, next *v.*

10 But judging them by little and little thou gavest them a place of repentance,
Not being ignorant that their nature by birth was evil, and their wickedness inborn,
And that their manner of thought would in no wise ever be changed,
11 For they were a seed accursed from the beginning:
Neither was it through fear of any that thou didst leave them *then* unpunished for their sins.

12 For who shall say, What hast thou done?

10. *judging them*] In Ex. xxiii. 29, 30 the reason assigned for the gradual expulsion of the Canaanites is not that given here, but the good of the land: if uncultivated for any length of time, it would deteriorate, and be overrun with pests.

place of repentance] Cp. *v.* 20. The phrase is found in Heb. xii. 17 and Clem. Rom. vii. The verb in Greek is imperfect, not *thou gavest*, but *thou offeredst*. For the idea, cp. Rom. ix. 22, 23.

their nature...evil] Cp. iii. 12 b.

wickedness inborn] The writer does not attempt to reconcile the contradiction between this proposition and ch. i. 12–14. Again, contrast this teaching of an innate bias towards evil with the self-determination of ch. i. 16 "Ungodly men *called* death unto them."

manner of thought] Cp. Gen. vi. 5. For the word (λογισμός) in a bad sense, cp. i. 3.

11. *a seed accursed from the beginning*] The reference is probably to the curse of Canaan, Gen. ix. 25. Cp. iii. 13 a; 2 Pet. ii. 14 "children of cursing" (R.V.). Writing on Gen. vi. 8, Philo (*Quod. D.* § 15) has "Evil men were made in the wrath of God, good men in His favour....Now anger is the fountain of sins: whatever we do under the influence of any passion is faulty." Contrast Is. lxv. 23 "My elect...shall not bring forth children for a curse, for they are a seed blessed by God, and their offspring with them" (LXX.).

Neither...through fear] God was absolutely disinterested in His patience. The Canaanite stock was doomed, but God hoped that individuals would repent. Cp. the deliverance of Rahab and her family, and the virtues of faith, hospitality and prophecy discovered in her (Clem. Rom. xii.). Grimm places *v.* 11 b in the following section.

leave them then *unpunished*] Vulg. *veniam dabas*, lit. *offer freedom from fear* (ἄδεια, amnesty) *in respect of their sins*. The fact that God did not cut them off precipitately might look as though He winked at sin. Cp. Ex. xxxiv. 7.

vv. 12–18. GOD'S SUPREME POWER DELIGHTS IN BENEVOLENCE.

12. *For*] It was not fear that dictated God's leniency; rather, it was God's position of unassailable supremacy.

Or who shall withstand thy judgement?
And who shall accuse thee for the perishing of nations which thou didst make?
Or who shall come and stand before thee as an avenger for unrighteous men?
For neither is there any God beside thee that careth for all, 13
That thou mightest shew *unto him* that thou didst not judge unrighteously:
Neither shall king or prince be able to look thee in the face 14
to plead for those whom thou hast punished.
But being righteous thou rulest all things righteously, 15
Deeming it a thing alien from thy power
To condemn one that doth not himself deserve to be punished.

who shall say... judgement?] These two clauses are taken direct from Job ix. 12, 19 LXX. A conflation of this line and of xi. 21 appears in Clem. Rom. xxvii. (see xi. 21). For similar questions, cp. Eccl. viii. 4; Dan. iv. 35; Rom. ix. 19.

who shall accuse thee] There is no one in a position to criticize God, for fear of whose protests God abated the severity of the judgments which of Himself He would have inflicted, *v.* 11.

nations which thou didst make] Ps. lxxxvi. 9.

come and stand before thee] There may be some allusion to the pursuit of a murderer by the avenger-kinsman (Num. xxxv.). There is a word-play between ἐκδικος (avenger) and ἄδικος (unrighteous).

God is an absolute irresponsible autocrat: He knows no check upon His power, save His own nature. Nothing but revelation, which affirms that the All-powerful is all-merciful, could make men accept with submission and satisfaction the teaching that man is without appeal in the hands of God.

13. *any God beside thee*] Deut. xxxii. 39. There is no God beside Jehovah, to whom He might have to justify His actions.

14. *look thee in the face* to plead *for*] The Gk. verb is found in Acts xxvii. 15 of a ship facing the wind, in Clem. Rom. xxxiv. of an idle workman not looking his employer in the face, cp. Ep. Barn. v. 10.

15. There is no one to remonstrate with God who can require that God shall listen to him. God is His own critic; His standard is within Himself. He *is* righteous. Man has no ground of confidence to compare with this.

being righteous] Gen. xviii. 25; Ex. ix. 27.

a thing alien] The Greek phrase is found in Philo, *Abr.* § 44, *Conf. l.* § 23.

To condemn] God possesses arbitrary power, but never uses it arbitrarily. He does not make sport with His creatures. Condem-

16 For thy strength is the beginning of righteousness,
And thy sovereignty over all maketh thee to forbear all.
17 For when men believe not that thou art perfect in power,
thou shewest thy strength,
[1]And [2]in dealing with them that know *it* thou puttest their
boldness to confusion.
18 But thou, being sovereign over *thy* strength, judgest in
gentleness,
And with great forbearance dost thou govern us;

[1] The Greek text here is perhaps corrupt. [2] Or, *in them*

nation rests with men: they judge themselves, and are their own penalty. Cp. Ps. lxii. 12 "Unto thee belongeth mercy; for thou renderest to every man according to his work." Browning's "Caliban upon Setebos" provides an interesting study of the subject of arbitrary power.

16. *thy strength*] The context gives these words a singularly different significance from that borne by the almost similar words in ii. 11. There, righteousness is to give way to power; here righteousness and power are declared to be fundamentally an unity. The writer suggests that there is a causal connection between God's justice and His power. *Because* He is so strong, He is so just. It may be that the temptation to men to use their strength tyrannically arises solely from their limitations, which dictate a corresponding self-assertion: where there is no challenge, there may be an undisturbed moral equilibrium, which precludes all desire for misuse or display. Antecedently, apart from human experience, why should power make for wrong and confusion rather than right and order? Does not essential power presuppose power over itself?

thy sovereignty] A repetition of xi. 23, 26; cp. Ps. lxii. 11, 12; see Philo, *Quod. D.* § 16, for God's preference of mercy to judgment.

17. *when men believe not*] Ex. v. 2, Pharaoh had said "who is the Lord? I know not the Lord."

shewest thy strength] This expression is used with reference to Pharaoh in Ex. ix. 16 LXX.; cp. Ps. cvi. 8.

them that know] B probably retains the right reading, being supported by Cod. Amiatinus *hos qui sciunt.*

Those who know God's power are distinguished from those (in prec. *l.*) who disbelieve in it. When men know God's power, but insolently disregard it or even defy it, God puts them to confusion.

18. *being sovereign*] Vulg. finely translates as a title, *Dominator uirtutis*, but text is probably right. For the sense, cp. Ps. lxxviii. 38, 39 and Philo (Diog. La. i. 3, 69) "The strong man should be gentle."

forbearance] The next *l.* shows that it is forbearance, and not indifference, or fear of reproach that dictates God's gentleness. The power to strike is ready, though in reserve: the only law of God's

For the power is thine whensoever thou hast the will.

But thou didst teach thy people by such works as these, 19
How that the righteous must be a lover of men;
And thou didst make thy sons to be of good hope,
Because thou givest repentance when men have sinned.
For if on them that were enemies of thy [1]servants and due 20
to death
Thou didst take vengeance with so great heedfulness and
indulgence,

[1] Or, *children*

power is His good will. For *gentleness* (ἐπιείκια) used of Christ, cp. 2 Cor. x. 1.

vv. **19—22.** GOD'S MERCIFUL FORBEARANCE WAS A LESSON TO THE ISRAELITES.

19. *thou didst teach*] The writer sums up chs. xi., xii.—18. God sought to teach the chosen people two lessons: (1) that righteousness is merciful, *v.* 22 b, (2) that repentance finds forgiveness, *v.* 22 c. If mercy was shown to the Canaanites, *v.* 20, how much more mercy was shown to Israel, and accordingly how merciful ought the Israelites to be: again, if Israel was disciplined, and the Canaanites were chastised a thousandfold more (but still chastised and not instantly annihilated), the repentant may always hope for mercy. For the writer, the world revolves round the chosen people: Egypt and Canaan are brought upon the scene only to provide object-lessons for Israel. For other examples of the writer's interpretations of history, see xvi. 11, 26, 28, and cp. Philo, *Fuga* § 14.

by such works] See xi. 15, xii. 8.

righteous...a lover of men] One of the writer's truest anticipations of N.T. teaching, see 1 Cor. xiii.; 1 John iv. 20. Cp. ch. i. 6, vii. 23 and Philo, *Mut.* § 22 "It is the province of God to be a benefactor"; *Abr.* § 37 "It belongs to the same nature to be pious and philanthropic"; *Fuga* § 6 "Be known first by your virtue among men, that you may be commended for your virtue before God." That philanthropy is part of righteousness in man is shown by the "philanthropy" (Tit. iii. 4) of a righteous God.

to be of good hope] The writer makes no allusion to the sins of Israel; in fact the "holy and blameless seed" has not once been criticized for the sins in the wilderness which brought down heavy chastisements upon the people. The sins whose forgiveness causes them to be of good hope are those of the Canaanites.

20. *due to death*] lit. *owed*, on account of their wickedness and impenitence.

and indulgence] So ℵ διέσεως. B reads "entreaty" (δεήσεως), cp. Is. lxv. 2. *liberasti* Cod. Am. represents the διέσωσας of some MSS. The last is quite inadmissible. For the idea, cp. Rom. ix. 22.

Giving them times and place whereby they might escape
from their wickedness;
21 With how great carefulness didst thou judge thy sons,
To whose fathers thou gavest oaths and covenants of good
promises!
22 While therefore thou dost chasten us, thou scourgest our
enemies ten thousand times more,
To the intent that we may ponder thy goodness when we
judge,
And when we are judged may look for mercy.
23 Wherefore also the unrighteous that lived in folly of life

times and place] For *place*, see *v.* 10. For *times*, Rev. ii. 21; Philo, *All.* iii. 34 "God will not proceed even against sinners immediately, but gives time for repentance, and the healing and correcting of their error." Cp. Rom. ii. 4. Philo, *Mos.* i. 24, writes of Egypt "God did not propose to devastate the land, but only to admonish it."

21. If God's vengeance on the heathen was so carefully tempered, what must have been the attention He bestowed on the judging (i.e. disciplining) of His sons!

To whose fathers] Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, see Ex. xxxii. 13. *Oaths and covenants*, cp. ch. xviii. 22.

22. *chasten us*] Cp. Dt. viii. 5.

scourgest our enemies] The contrast between *chasten* (παιδεύειν) and *scourge* (μαστιγοῦν) is not necessarily very strong, cp. Prov. iii. 11, but it is intentionally emphasized here. For an interesting philosophy of the calamities which befel the Jews of the Maccabaean age, see 2 Macc. vi. 12—17. God forbore to punish the heathen, till they had filled up the measure of their sins; the Jews, however, were corrected for the slightest sin, that a delayed vengeance might not be necessary.

that we may ponder] That God while disciplining the Jews was content to administer chastisement, however severe, to their enemies, was for the writer a mark of God's mercy. The lesson of mercy, apart from the way of reaching it, anticipates St Matt. xviii. 33, cp. James ii. 13.

when we are judged] Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 38.

vv. 23—27. THE WRITER REVERTS TO THE EGYPTIANS, AND REAFFIRMS THE LAW OF XI. 16.

23. *Wherefore*] The writer now views the sufferings of Egypt apart from any moral teaching for Israel, and solely in the light of disciplinary chastisement. *Wherefore* takes up *v.* 22 a "Thou *scourgest* our enemies."

folly of life] Cp. i. 3, xi. 15. The moral folly that issued in virtual atheism, Ps. liii. 1. By *the unrighteous* are meant the Egyptians, as is clear from the reference to animal worship in *v.* 24.

Thou didst torment through their own abominations.
For verily they went astray very far [1]in the ways of error, 24
Taking as gods those [2]animals which even among their enemies were held in dishonour,
Deceived like foolish babes.
Therefore, as unto unreasoning children, thou didst send 25 thy judgement to mock them.
But they that would not be admonished [3]by a mocking 26 correction as of children
Shall have experience of a judgement worthy of God.

[1] Or, *even beyond* [2] Gr. *living creatures*: and so elsewhere in this book. [3] Or, *by a correction, which was as children's play* Gr. *by child-play of correction.*

through their own abominations] The reference is to the visitation upon the sacred Nile, the murrain upon the cattle, the plagues of frogs, lice, flies, cp. ch. xi. *Abominations* (*βδελύγματα*) is of course a technical use, and stands for a Hebrew word applied almost exclusively as a contemptuous designation of an idol (Is. xliv. 19), or of heathen deities (1 Kings xi. 5). The argument of xi. 15 is recalled.

24. *very far in the ways*] This rendering is preferable to that of the marg. *even beyond*, which would be somewhat exaggerated.

those animals which even among their enemies] Philo (*Dec.* § 16), in a description of Egyptian animal worship, writes that they worship oxen, rams, and goats, which indeed might have some show of reason. But then they worship wild animals like lions, crocodiles, and asps; and he adds dogs, cats, wolves, the ibis, hawks, and fishes or even parts of fishes. Farrar recalls the scornful tirade against Egyptian worship in Juv. *Sat.* xvi.

25. If they were children, they should be treated as such. If they worshipped animals, their animals should make sport of them. The writer does not speak of a mock-punishment, for he admits it was real enough: but the character of the punishment was such that it made both gods and people ridiculous. Cp. Ex. x. 2 R.V. marg. "how I have mocked the Egyptians."

26. *a mocking correction*] *Mocking* imports an idea not in the Greek, see marg. *child-play of correction.* There is similarity of sound in Greek, but not of sense, between *ἐμπαιγμός* (mockery) *v.* 25, and *παιγνίοις* (child-play) *v.* 26. The connection is with *babes* (*v.* 24) and *children* (*v.* 25). As child's play is to men's work, so were the earlier chastisements to God's real judgments. For "play" in connection with God, see Philo, *Mos.* i. 38 "The miracle of the smitten rock was God's play, compared with His creative works which are really great."

Shall have experience] The writer throws himself back in imagination to the time between the earlier plagues and the Exodus, and pictures

27 For through the sufferings whereat they were indignant,
Being punished in these creatures which they supposed to be gods,
They saw, and recognised as the true God him whom before they [1]refused to know:
Wherefore also the last end of condemnation came upon them.

13 For verily all men by nature [2]*were but* vain who had no perception of God,

[1] Or, *denied that they knew* [2] Or, are

himself waiting with prophetic certainty for the death of the firstborn and the destruction of the Egyptian hosts in the Red Sea.

27. *For through*] lit. For being punished in respect of those things, concerning which they suffered and were indignant—concerning those creatures, I mean, which they supposed to be gods, they saw...

They saw, and recognised] They were grieved that their gods should be touched; but it was the very touching of their *gods*, which proved the operation of a greater God, Ex. vii. 5.

refused] or, as marg., *denied that.* Cp. xvi. 16; Ex. v. 2.

the true God] Ex. ix. 28, x. 16.

Wherefore] supply "when they recognised the true God, and still refused to let the people go."

the last end] The death of the firstborn, and the drowning in the Red Sea. This is the "judgment worthy of God," cp. 1 Thess. ii. 16.

Chapter XIII.

The thought of the false gods of the Egyptians leads the writer on to a disquisition on false worship in general, in chs. xiii.—xv. He divides false worshippers under two heads—those who rest in nature and deify it (*vv.* 1—9), instead of looking through it to God; and those who make to themselves idols, or worship animals. For the former class he can see some excuse; for the latter he feels nothing but contempt and abhorrence.

The argument in *vv.* 1—9 would seem to be directed chiefly against the Greeks. They were lovers of beauty, but they failed to infer from the beauty around them the Author whose works they enjoyed. In so far also as the Egyptians practised solar worship, the scope of the argument includes them.

vv. **1—9.** Nature-worship is the least reprehensible form of false worship.

1. The *v.* begins with *vain* in Greek, which answers to *miserable* at beginning of *v.* 10. For *vain* of idolatry, cp. Jer. ii. 5 LXX.; 3 Macc. vi. 11; Rom. i. 21.

And from the good things that are seen they gained not
power to know him that is,
Neither by giving heed to the works did they recognise the
artificer;
But either fire, or wind, or swift air, 2

no perception] They ought to have had knowledge, but had it not. They were vain *by nature* (xii. 10), thus differing from those illuminated by Wisdom, cp. ch. ix. 13, 17. Philo, *Conf. l.* § 28, writes of men "who, like incapable archers, assigned countless causes (all of them wrong) for the origin of things, but had no perception of the one Maker and Father of all."

that are seen] Cp. Acts xiv. 17; Rom. i. 20. The argument from the created world to the character of its Creator is found in Ps. xix. 1; Is. xlii. 5; Job xxxvi. 22 ff. LXX. Liddon quotes, on Rom. i. 20, Arist. *de Mundo* 6 "The unseen God is to be seen in His very works." Cp. Kant "The starry sky above me and the moral law within me fill my soul with ever increasing reverence."

him that is] God is either "the Existent," in the sense that no other quality than pure existence may be attributed to the Unconditioned and Absolute One (cp. Philo, *Quod Deus* § 11 "Pure being without attributes"; or the one, true, self-existent God, cp. Ex. iii. 14 LXX. "*I am He that is*" (ὁ ὤν, as here). Philo calls God "that which truly is" (τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν), "Him who really is" (τὸν ὄντως ὄντα). They were too feeble to rise to the knowledge of the Absolute from the phenomena of common observation.

the artificer] At least they might have taken the logical step of inferring that a thing made postulated a maker. For God as *artificer*, cp. Philo, *Quod Deus* § 6, and *All.* iii. 32 "Those who thus argue apprehend God through a shadow, perceiving the artificer through his works." See id. *Ebr.* § 22.

2. For the worship of the elements, cp. Philo, *Dec.* § 12 "Some have deified the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire, and others the sun and the moon and the stars; others the heaven only, and some the whole universe; and the Creator, Governor, and Director they have obscured behind their false ascriptions. For they call the earth Demeter, the sea Poseidon, the air Hera, the sun Apollo, the moon Artemis, and fire Hephaestus," and id. *Conf. l.* § 34. Bois (p. 293) suggests that not only is polytheism in the writer's mind, but certain Greek philosophic conceptions. Heraclitus referred everything to fire, Thales (Diog. La. i. 1, 27) to water. Anaximenes (Diog. La. i. 2, 2) suggested air, while Pythagoras, who regarded heat as the source of life, reckoned sun, moon and stars as gods (Diog. La. ii. 8, 27).

fire] Diog. La. (*proem.* vi. 6) writes that the Magi count fire, earth, and water as gods, but condemn the worship of images. Cp. Herodotus i. 131 for the Persians as worshippers of natural forces. Among the Greeks Hephaestus was god of fire, and patron of all arts needing the aid of fire.

Or [1]circling stars, or raging water, or [2]luminaries of heaven,
They thought to be gods that rule the world.
3 And if it was through delight in their beauty that they took
them to be gods,
Let them know how much better than these is their
Sovereign Lord;
For the first author of beauty created them:

[1] Gr. *circle of stars.* [2] Or, *luminaries of heaven, rulers of the world, they thought to be gods*

wind] Cp. the Greek cult of Aeolus. The Egyptians worshipped the winds in connection with the annual overflow of the Nile. The Persians offered sacrifices to the winds. Hdt. i. 131.

swift air] Personified by the Greeks as Hera.

circling stars] Cp. Dt. iv. 19, xvii. 3. Diog. La. (*proem.* vi. 8) writes that Zoroaster sacrificed to the stars. The *circling stars* are so called because the stars seem to revolve in relation to the earth: the expression almost means the vault in which the stars are set.

raging water] The Egyptians worshipped water, Philo, *Mos.* i. 17; the Greeks personified it as Poseidon.

luminaries of heaven] The Egyptians worshipped the sun and moon (Isis and Osiris), Jer. xliii. 13. That the Israelites before the exile did so is plain from Jer. vii. 18; xliv. 17; cp. Ezek. viii. 16. See Job xxxi. 26—28, and note in this series.

gods that rule the world] This is better than (as marg.) to isolate *rulers of the world* and make it apply to sun and moon only. Gen. i. 16 at first sight seems to support marg., but the balance of the sentence is thereby destroyed.

3. *their beauty*] A Greek touch. Plutarch (*Philos.* 3) says that the Stoics inferred the beauty of the divine character from the beauty of creation. The aesthetic sense was repressed among the Israelites: in the endeavour to throw them back on the spiritual sense, and to deaden them to the attractions of nature-worship or the worship of representations of natural objects, the Mosaic system rather turned their eyes away from the external world in its aspect of beauty. Contact with Greek thought was required before such a passage as Ecclus. xliii. 9—12 could be written. The Israelite was conscious of the majesty of nature and of its symbolism, but delight in beauty for its own sake seemed dangerous to the non-Hellenized Jew. The passage recalls the *Symposium* myth concerning the discovery of the Absolute Beauty (Plato, *Symp.* 211 B, C "'Tis when a man ascendeth from these beautiful things by the Right Way of Love, and beginneth to have sight of that Eternal Beauty—'tis then, methinks, that he toucheth the goal. For this is the right Way...beginning from the beautiful things here, to mount up alway unto that Eternal Beauty, using these things as the steps of a ladder" (tr. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*).

first author of beauty] Cp. Philo, *proem. et poen.* § 7 "They con-

But if it was through astonishment at their power and [4]
[1]influence,
Let them understand from them how much more powerful
is he that formed them;
For from the [2]greatness of the beauty [3]even of created things [5]
[4]In like proportion [5]does man form the image of their first
maker.
But yet for these [6]men there is but small blame, [6]
For they too peradventure do *but* go astray
While they are seeking God and desiring to find him.

[1] Gr. *efficacy.* [2] Some authorities read *greatness and beauty of.* [3] Some authorities omit *even.* [4] Or, *Correspondingly* [5] Gr. *is the first maker of them beheld.* [6] Or, *things*

cluded that all these beauties so admirably ordered did not come into being of themselves, but are the work of some Maker, the Creator of the world."

4. *if it was through*] Supply *that they took them to be gods* from *v.* 3. Some who are not affected by the world's beauty are struck by its power and vital resources. The artificer must be greater than his work, cp. Philo, *Dec.* § 14.

he that formed them] For the Greek word and the idea, see note on ix. 2, and cp. Heb. iii. 3.

5. *from the greatness*] Read with mg. *and beauty of created things. vv.* 4 and 3 are united in the one argument from the phenomenal manifestation to the hidden Reality. The word ἀναλόγως, *in like proportion*, marg. *correspondently*, does not occur in LXX., but the cognate subst. is used in Rom. xii. 6. The limits of the inference from the creation to the Creator are here seen. From it man can learn that power and beauty may be ascribed to Him. But His possession of the higher moral qualities, righteousness and love, must be revealed.

does man form the image] lit. as marg. *is beheld.* The Greek word implies the use of the imaginative faculty (not necessarily, as Farrar, "adoring vision"), whereby man sees the invisible. Shakespeare speaks of "the soul's imaginary eye."

6. But nature-worshippers are in a measure, although not altogether (*v.* 9), excusable. They are aroused by the world's beauty, and set out to seek God: but they are arrested midway and fail to attain to the end.

for these men] *things* marg. Either rendering is possible, but text is preferable, as *they* (αὐτοί) in next *l.* takes up *these.* The worshippers of nature at least take what God has provided them; they do not *make* Gods.

seeking God] Cp. Acts xvii. 27. To the followers of the less debasing and reprehensible nature-cults he extends the benefit of the doubt: no doubt they are seekers after God, but have lost the way.

7 For [1]living among his works they make diligent search,
And they [2]yield themselves up to sight, because the things
that they look upon are beautiful.
8 But again even they are not to be excused.
9 For if they had power to know so much,
That they should be able to explore [3]the course *of things*,
How is it that they did not sooner find the Sovereign Lord
of these *his works*?

10 But miserable [4]*were* they, and [5]in dead things [4]*were* their
hopes,

[1] Or, *being occupied with* [2] Or, *trust their sight that the things*
[3] Or, *life* Or, *the world* Gr. *the age.* [4] Or, are [5] Or, *amongst*

7. *living among his works*] The Greek verb refers to the daily affairs of life rather than, as marg. *being occupied with*, to scrutiny of natural phenomena. While occupied with the duties of life, they *make diligent search* after God. The thought is of practical men, who try to find light upon their life, but by their very externality are liable to be victims of sense-impressions.

8. *not to be excused*] Cp. vi. 6; Rom. i. 20. Whatever apology may be found for them, they are really inexcusable: in the last resort, they failed to use the faculties they had been endowed with.

9. *if they had power*] Recalls *gained not power to know* in *v.* 1. This *v.* returns to *v.* 1: there it was stated that men did not rise up to God through His works; here the question is asked, If they could scrutinize God's works, why did they not rise up to God?

be able to explore] Certain faculties, mental and moral, are required for a reasoned attitude towards the world: these doubtless beckoned nature-worshippers to go farther, but must have been disregarded. Philo, *Abr.* § 15, writes of the Chaldaeans "They referred everything to the movements of the stars, and conjectured that the world was governed by powers connected with numbers; and they magnified the visible creation, taking no thought of the invisible: but making numerical calculations with the help of the heavenly bodies...they conjectured that the world itself was God, unwisely likening the creation to its Creator."

the course of things] αἰὼν is the sum of things in their time-aspect, cp. xiv. 6; Eccl. iii. 11. On this word Westcott writes (*Heb.* i. 2, note) "The universe may be regarded...as an order which exists through time developed in various stages."

did not sooner find] There was a moral failure involved. Men who had advanced so far as to conclude that the world was God, or that natural forces were divinities, ought to have had insight enough to infer that the works they saw around them postulated a Worker outside and above them.

Who called them gods which are works of men's hands,
Gold and silver, wrought with careful art, and likenesses of animals,
Or a useless stone, the work of an ancient hand.
Yea and if some [1]woodcutter, having sawn down a [2]tree that is easily moved, 11
Skilfully strippeth away all its bark,

[1] Gr. *carpenter* who is *a woodcutter*. [2] Gr. *plant*. The Greek word, slightly changed, would mean *trunk*.

vv. 10—19. THE FOLLY OF IDOLATRY.

The writer displays no originality in this section. It recalls the argument and phraseology of Is. xl., xli., xliv., xlvi.; Jer. ii. 26—28 (cp. Ps. cxv., cxxxv.), and resembles the apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah (Baruch vi.), written probably in Egypt in the 1st. cent. B.C.

10. *miserable*] Answering to *vain* in *v.* 1.

in dead things were *their hopes*] The contrast is not with Jehovah, the Living God, but with the physical life of the forces of Nature, the worshippers of which were the subject of the prec. section. Nature is at least alive. Vulg. renders *among the dead*. Cp. xv. 17 and Ep. Jer. (Bar. vi.) 27 "They offer gifts to them as to (the) dead," id. 71 "Their gods of wood are like a dead man cast into darkness."

works of men's hands] Prec. by *silver and gold*, the words are taken from Ps. cxv. 4, cxxxv. 15, cp. Dt. iv. 28; 2 Kings xix. 18; Dan. v. 4; Ep. Jer. often.

wrought with careful art] lit. the product of the exercise of art. Cp. Acts xvii. 29. The expression is in app. with *gold and silver*.

likenesses of animals] Cp. the Golden Calf of Aaron and the calves of Jeroboam, 1 Kings xii. 28, and the beast-headed gods of Egypt. For the animal worship of Egypt, see Philo, *Dec.* § 16.

useless stone] Either a stone idol, or a sacred aerolite. Cp. W. M. Ramsay (Art. *Religion of Greece* in Hastings, *D.B.* vol. v.) "A rude and shapeless stone, which had fallen from heaven (διοπετής), doubtless a meteorite, existed originally at Pessinus,...; it is a type of many other similar stones at Orchomenos, Thespiae, etc. Many of these stones had some approximate regularity of shape, sometimes perhaps accidental, in other cases distinctly due to human workmanship." Cp. Acts xix. 35.

work of an ancient hand] See prec. quotation.

11. *Yea and if*] This long conditional sentence finds its apodosis in the last clause of *v.* 13. "Then *he giveth it*." For the whole passage, cp. Is. xliv. 9—20; Jer. x. 3—5; Baruch vi.

a tree] Cp. Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 1

"Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum
Maluit esse deum."

And fashioning it in comely form maketh a vessel useful for
the service of life;
12 And burning the refuse of his handywork to dress his food,
eateth his fill;
13 And taking the very refuse thereof which served to no use,
A crooked piece of wood and full of knots,
Carveth it with the diligence of his idleness,
And shapeth it by the skill of his [1]indolence;
[2]*Then* he giveth it the semblance of the image of a man,
14 Or maketh it like some paltry animal,
Smearing it with vermilion, and with [3]paint colouring it red,
And smearing over every stain that is therein;

[1] Or, *leisure* [2] Or, And [3] Gr. *rouge.*

fashioning it] The workman first takes a handy piece of timber, picks out the best part of it, and turns it to account. The household vessel is the object of his effort, the image is an after thought.

useful for...] Cp. Baruch vi. 59 "a vessel useful in the house." There is doubtless a reminiscence of this passage in *Ep. to Diognetus* c. 2 "Is not one idol bronze, no better than the vessels forged for our use, is not another earthenware, not a whit more comely than that which is supplied for the most dishonourable service (ὑπηρεσία)?"

12. *burning*] Cp. Is. xliv. 15, 16. For *eateth his fill*, cp. ch. v. 7. The workman turns his tree to further account before he concerns himself with the disposal of the remaining fragment.

13. *the very refuse*] lit. the refuse of the refuse. *Which served to no use* is in contrast with *easily moved* (εὐκίνητος) in *v.* 11, which conveys the impression of "serviceable and handy."

diligence of his idleness] So ℵB (ἀργίας). Vulg. *per uacuitatem suam.* A has ἐργασίας *labour*; but this reading misses the sarcasm of the paradoxical expression. Deane interprets "Such industry as a man uses when enjoying his leisure."

skill of his indolence] So ℵAB Ven. ἀνέσεως. Another contradictory expression, the point of which, as a complement to the prec. line, is lost if *intelligence* (συνέσεως) with some Gk. MSS. and Vulg. is read instead. Deane interprets "Such skill as carelessness gives."

14. *vermilion*] Farrar quotes Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 45, who speaks of the statue of Jupiter as being coloured red on festal days, and Ovid, *Fasti* i. 415, of the statue of Priapus "at ruber hortorum decus et tutela Priapus"; Pausanias says that the images of Dionysus, Hermes and Pan, were painted vermilion. Verg. *Ecl.* x. 25—27, describes Pan as *red with vermilion.* Not only was Bacchus painted red, but (Tibullus ii. 1. 55) his rustic worshipper painted himself with vermilion.

every stain] A touch of sarcasm: the blemishes are matter of

And having made for it a chamber worthy of it, 15
He setteth it in a wall, making it fast with iron.
While then he taketh thought for it that it may not fall 16
down,
Knowing that it is unable to help itself;
(For verily it is an image, and hath need of help;)
When he maketh his prayer concerning goods and his 17
marriage and children,
He is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life;
Yea for health he calleth upon that which is weak, 18
And for life he beseecheth that which is dead,
And for aid he supplicateth that which hath least experience,

indifference. They are covered over with paint, just as the marks on white animals brought for sacrifice were chalked over.

15. *a chamber*] Either a small shrine, cp. Tibull. i. 10. 19 "Stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus"; or a niche in the wall.

making it fast] For safety. Cp. Bar. vi. 18 "the priests make fast their temples with doors, with locks, with bars, lest they (the images) be carried off by robbers"; Is. xli. 7, Jer. x. 4.

16. *may not fall down*] Cp. Bar. vi. 27 "If they fall to the ground at any time they cannot rise up again of themselves." This sentence, describing the helplessness of the image, in sarcastic contrast with the universal Providence of God (vi. 7), is shown by the Greek particles to be in antithesis to *v.* 17, which tells of the demands made upon it.

unable to help itself] Cp. Bar. vi. 49 "which can neither save themselves from war, nor from plague," and 58 "neither shall they be able to help themselves," and for the phrase Job iv. 20 LXX., and Philo, *All.* iii. 9. Cp. the fall of Dagon, 1 Sam. v.

hath need of help] Cp. Bar. vi. 27 "If they fall they cannot rise up again of themselves; neither, if they be set awry, can they make themselves straight."

17. *maketh his prayer*] He will actually petition a dead thing to give him a good marriage and a large family. See Is. xliv. 17; Jer. ii. 26—28. Philo (*Dec.* § 14) writes "I know that some who have made images pray and sacrifice to the things they have themselves made, when it would be much better to worship one of their hands, or even their hammers or anvils or tools."

18. *for health*] Bar. vi. 36, 37 "They can save no man from death...they cannot restore a blind man to his sight." Diog. La. (vi. 28) writes that Diogenes was provoked at the idea of people offering sacrifices on behalf of their health, and then destroying their health by overeating at the sacrificial banquet.

for life...that which is dead] *vv.* 18, 19 present a finely balanced series of paradoxes, cp. 2 Cor. vi. 8—10.

which hath least experience] Cp. 3 Macc. iv. 16 "praising gods

And for a *good* journey that which cannot so much as move a step,

19 And for gaining and [1]getting and good success of his hands
He asketh ability of that which with its hands is most unable.

14 Again, one preparing to sail, and about to journey over raging waves,
Calleth upon a piece of wood more rotten than the vessel that carrieth him;

[1] Or, *handywork*

which were dumb, and could not speak to them or help them," and Is. xlvi. 7; Jer. xiv. 22; Bar. vi. 13, 14.

cannot...move a step] Cp. Bar. vi. 26 "Having no feet, they are borne upon shoulders," and Ps. cxv. 7.

19. *getting*] Vulg. *de operando*. The Greek word means lit. *craft, business*, cp. Ecclus. xxxviii. 34; but in Acts xix. 24 *gain*. The two senses seem to meet in the verb in ch. viii. 5.

with its hands...unable] Cp. Ps. cxv. 7, and Bar. vi. 15 "He hath a dagger in his right hand and an axe: but cannot deliver himself from war and robbers."

Chapter XIV. Idolatry—its folly, its origin, and its disastrous effect upon social life.

vv. **1—11.** The folly of idolatry illustrated by the seafarer, who trusts in his piece of wood. The Divine Providence alone preserves men from the perils of the sea. Idol and worshipper shall be punished together.

1. *a piece of wood*] An idol was carried at the prow or the stern of ancient ships. In Acts xxviii. 11 the "sign" of the ship was Castor and Pollux. Epict. (ii. 18) speaks of voyagers invoking the Dioscuri, cp. Hor. *Od.* i. 3. 2 "sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera (te, nauis, regant)." Herodotus (iii. 37) explains what the image of Hephaestus was like, by comparing it to the dwarf images of the Pataeci (their tutelary deities) which the Phoenicians carried on their warships.

more rotten] For the word, used in a secondary sense, meaning "more worthless," cp. secondary use of *cheap*, xiii. 14. The sailor secures sound wood for his ship; any refuse will do for an idol. For the practice of invoking the gods in a storm, cp. Jonah i. 5 and Bias (Diog. La. i. 5, 86). Bias was sailing once with certain wicked men, when the ship was caught in a storm. They all cried to the gods, and Bias said "Be silent, else the gods will know you are sailing in this ship."

For that *vessel* the hunger for gains devised, 2
And an artificer, *even* wisdom, built it;
And thy providence, O Father, guideth it along, 3
Because even in the sea thou gavest a way,
And in the waves a sure path,
Shewing that thou canst save out of every *danger*, 4
That *so* even without art a man may put to sea;

2. *the hunger for gains*] The ship has two advantages over the idol:—commercial enterprise called it into being, and it was made under the guidance of the Divine Wisdom.

artificer, even *wisdom*] All the best MSS. give this reading, which ch. vii. 22 shows must refer to the Divine Wisdom. But would the author allow that the work of a heathen craftsman was produced under the immediate direction of Wisdom? On the other hand, Vulg. has *artifex sapientia sua*, which represents τεχνίτης σοφίᾳ "the artificer, by his intelligence." σοφίᾳ κατεσκ. appears in ch. ix. 2. If (with Vulg. and Grimm) we accept the masc. τεχνίτης, a pointed antithesis is suggested between the *craftsman* who builds the ship, and the mere *wood-cutter* (ch. xiii. 11) who in an idle hour hacks a log into an idol. In this case *wisdom* is the human quality.

3. *thy providence*] For the philosophic sense of *thy care*, cp. "O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things" (8th S. after Trinity). The word *Providence* (πρόνοια) occurs here for the first time in the Gk. Bible, although of very early occurrence among class. Gk. writers. Pythagoras taught the providence of God (Diog. La. ii. 8, 27), also Plato (id. i. 3, 24). Philo (*Opif.* § 61) writes "From the Creation-story we learn fifthly that God exercises a providence over the world. By the laws of nature the maker must always care for the thing made, even as parents take thought for their offspring." Herodotus (iii. 108) says that Divine Providence displays, in certain physiological matters, great wisdom. But if the word is new to the O.T., the idea is not, cp. Ps. cxlv. 9. Bois (pp. 238, 264) sees in πρόνοια only another designation of Wisdom. He identifies it with the *hand of God* in *v.* 6, with Wisdom the pilot in x. 4. Cp. ch. vi. 7; xvii. 2.

in the waves a sure path] Cp. Ps. lxxvii. 19, cvii. 30 LXX.; Is. li. 10. Refers to the passage of the Red Sea, cp. Grimm, p. 242.

4. *out of every* danger] Contrast with xiii. 17—19.

without art] If God so desired, nautical skill would not be required for the trader, any more than for the escaping Israelites. Some MSS. of Vulg. (incl. Amiatinus) read *sine rate* "without a ship," which is no doubt a felicitous false reading for *sine arte*. There is a Greek iambic line, "With the will of God, you might go for a voyage on a mat." But although the writer has in mind the sea-passage of Israel, he suggests nothing so paradoxical as that God could carry men *on* the sea without vessels.

5 And it is thy will that the works of thy wisdom should not be idle;
Therefore also do men intrust their lives to a little piece of wood,
And passing through the surge [1]on a raft are brought safe *to land.*
6 For [2]in the old time also, when proud giants were perishing,
The hope of the world, taking refuge on a raft,
Left to [3]the race of men a seed of generations *to come,*
Thy hand guiding the helm.
7 For blessed [4]hath been wood through which cometh righteousness:

[1] Gr. *by.* [2] The Greek text here is perhaps corrupt.
[3] Or, *future time* Gr. *age.* [4] Or, *is*

5. *should not be idle*] The existence of ships makes commerce possible: otherwise the fruits of the earth (*works of thy wisdom*) would accumulate in the countries of their origin, and be wasted for lack of the means of distribution. There is a word-play in the Greek between *works* and *idle* (lit. *workless*).

little piece of wood] Diog. La. (i. 8, 103) records how the Scythian philosopher Anacharsis, having learnt that the thickness of a ship's sides was four fingers' breadth, said "That is all the distance between the passengers and death."

on a raft] Half depreciatingly of the ship that, compared to the waves, is so frail. In *v.* 6 the word is used of the Ark. *are brought safe*, the gnomic aorist in Greek.

6. *proud giants*] See Gen. vi. 4.

were perishing] See Gen. vi. 17, cp. 3 Macc. ii. 4, "Thou didst destroy the sinners of old time, among whom were giants."

hope of the world] Noah and his family. Deane quotes Verg. *Æn.* xii. 168 "Ascanius magnae spes altera Romae."

to the race of men] Rather, *to the world* (αἰών). Cp. note on xiii. 9. αἰὼν is Creation as it unfolds itself in time.

a seed of generations to come] Cp. Philo, *Mos.* ii. 11 "Noah, counted worthy to be the beginning of a new generation": *Migr.* § 22 "Noah having escaped put forth from himself strong and goodly roots, from which the race of wisdom sprang up like a plant." The expression properly means *a seed of begetting*, Vulg. *semen natiuitatis.*

Thy hand guiding] *Hand* is perhaps synonymous with Providence, *v.* 3. *guiding*, lit. *steering.* For the word applied to the Divine government, cp. Epict. ii. 17. 25.

7. *blessed hath been wood*] *Blessed* stands forcibly contrasted with *accursed*, *v.* 8: for through a ship once the will of God was done, and the human race preserved. This is probably the sense to be given to

But the *idol* made with hands is accursed, itself and he that 8
made it;
Because his was the working, and the corruptible thing was
named a god:
For both the ungodly doer and his ungodliness are alike 9
hateful to God;
For verily the deed shall be punished together with him that 10
committed it.
Therefore also [1]among the idols of the nations shall there be 11
a visitation,
Because, though formed of things which God created, they
were made an abomination,
And stumblingblocks to the souls of men,

[1] Or, *upon* Gr. *in.*

righteousness, but cp. Heb. xi. 7; 2 Pet. ii. 5. It is not surprising that these words were interpreted with reference to the Cross, which is often called "wood" or "tree" (ξύλον) in N.T., cp. Acts x. 39. See also note on Ps. xcvi. 10 in this series on the curious addition to that verse "The Lord hath reigned *from the tree.*" Many Fathers quote this *v.* as a prophecy of the Cross (see Deane).

8. *the* idol *made with hands*] The Greek adjective is used in LXX. to render the Heb. word for *idol*, Is. ii. 18, x. 11, xix. 1. This sentence beginning with *cursed* stands in antithesis to *v.* 7 beginning with *blessed*, while the *idol* is contrasted with the *ship* in *v.* 2 (ἐκεῖνο μέν).

accursed...and he that made it] Drawn from Dt. xxvii. 15. The man is accursed for making the idol; the idol because the name of God is given to it (*v.* 21), cp. Rom. i. 23.

9. *the ungodly doer and his ungodliness*] The abstract word stands almost for the concrete *idol*, cp. "abomination" in xii. 23. For doer and deed, cp. Hos. ix. 10 "They became abominable like that which they loved." For God's *hatred* of sin, see Ps. v. 5.

10. *the deed*] Strictly speaking, a "thing done" cannot be punished, neither can a sin. *Punishment* can only alight on a personality. Hence τὸ πραχθέν (the thing done) must be interpreted of the idol (the concrete result of human action) which is almost personified.

11. *Therefore*] Explains prec. *v.* Cp. Ex. xii. 12; Jer. x. 15.

though formed of things] Cp. Rom. i. 25. The sense is that wood and stone, which exist in God's creation and by God's decree, are turned into representations of beings (or rather non-entities) which dispute God's supremacy with Him. An idol is a misapplication of created (i.e. divine) things, and therefore must be destroyed.

an abomination] in the eyes of the Creator.

stumblingblocks...a snare] to men. The two words occur together in

And a snare to the feet of the foolish.

12 For the devising of idols was the beginning of fornication,
And the invention of them the corruption of life:
13 For neither were they from the beginning, neither shall they be for ever;
14 For by the vaingloriousness of men they entered into the world,
And therefore was a speedy end devised for them.
15 For a father worn with untimely grief,
Making an image of the child quickly taken away,

Josh. xxiii. 13 and Ps. lxix. 22, cp. Ps. cvi. 36. The things that have perverted human souls cannot but be viewed with indignation by the "Lover of souls."

vv. **12—21.** THE ORIGIN OF IDOLATRY.

12. *the beginning of fornication*] i.e. as A.V. *spiritual fornication*. This is a common O.T. figure for the spiritual levity which can forsake Jehovah for another deity, cp. Ex. xxxiv. 15, 16; Ps. cvi. 39; Hos. ii. 2.

the corruption of life] Morally, see *v.* 27. Cp. 2 Pet. i. 4; ii. 19.

13. *from the beginning*] Existence is not inherent in them, as in God (Ex. iii. 14; Ps. xc. 2). Cp. Dt. xxxii. 17 "New gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not." For *neither shall they be* cp. Is. lxv. 3 LXX. "They burn incense upon the bricks to gods which are not" (will not be, A).

14. *vaingloriousness*] Rather, *through the foolish fancy of men*, cp. 4 Macc. v. 9. Grimm points out that there is no vaingloriousness in "untimely grief" (*v.* 15).

they entered into the world] Idols, like death (ch. ii. 24), are intruders into God's world. Like death, men brought them in (ch. i. 16). "Coming into the world" is a phrase expressive of crossing the frontiers of a kingdom: the idea is not so much metaphysical as moral: where they came from is not so important as that they have been introduced in violation of God's order of things.

was a speedy end devised] If man can devise idols (*v.* 12), God can devise a speedy ending of them. When the end shall be is left as indefinite as in *vv.* 10, 11.

15. *untimely grief*] i.e. grief for an untimely death. This transference of adjectives is known as *hypallage*.

the child quickly taken away] The classical instance of this is to be found in Cicero's memorial to his daughter. Lactantius (*Inst.* i. 15) represents him as saying "With the approbation of the gods, I will place you the best and most learned of all women in their assembly, and will consecrate you to the estimation of all men." But the more natural process undoubtedly would be (as Mr Herbert Spencer argued)

Now honoured him as a god which was then a dead man,
And delivered to those that were under him mysteries and solemn rites.
Afterward the ungodly custom, in process of time grown strong, was kept as a law, 16
And by the commandments of princes the graven images received worship.
And when men could not honour them in presence because they dwelt far off, 17

for children to venerate their deceased ancestors (cp. 2 Macc. xi. 23), as is seen in China. Fulgentius (quoting from Diophantus) tells of an Egyptian named Syrophanes, who, overcome with grief for the loss of his son, erected a statue of him in his house. To please the master of the house, the members of the family decked it with flowers, and slaves even fled to it for sanctuary. And thus the statue gradually became an idol.

Now honoured him as a god] The essential connection between death and deity is well brought out by Prof. Ramsay in his Art. on *Rel. of Greece* in Hastings, *D.B.* Vol. v. p. 131 (Burial). He writes "It was probably on the worship of the dead that the worship of Divine personal beings was built up. The dead parent links the family with the Divine nature....Among the Greeks the special sacrifice to the dead hero took place on his birthday."

16. *custom...grown strong*] Cp. Philo, *Dec.* § 26 "Custom in process of time becomes stronger than nature." Custom becomes prescription, and prescription is almost stronger than law. *V.* 16 refers to *v.* 15, to the child-worship now grown from custom into law: what was begun by a father among his servants is now enforced by a tyrant upon his subjects. There is no connection between *v.* 16 and *v.* 17: the dictated worship is contrasted with the voluntary. *Princes* however serves as a link between the verses.

17. The reference in this *v.* is to divine honours paid to kings in their lifetime, not after death. W. M. Ramsay writes (Art. on *Rel. of Greece* in Hastings, *D.B.* Vol. v. p. 154) "It was an easy step to identify the man of surpassing excellence, physical or mental, with a god either after his death or during his lifetime, when the perfection of human nature was regarded as Divine....According to Plutarch, the first man to whom worship was paid as a god during his lifetime was Lysander (*Lys.* 18)....The Thasians honoured Agesilaos in a similar way. From the time of Alexander the deification of kings was customary, as a mere recognition of 'divine right.' Roman generals were often honoured by Greek cities with festivals and games, which implied deification. Every Roman emperor in succession was worshipped; and it was inscribed on the coins and the engraved decrees of the greatest Greek cities as a special honour that they were temple-

Imagining the likeness from afar,
They made a visible image of the king whom they honoured,
That by their zeal they might flatter the absent as if present.
18 But unto a yet higher pitch was worship raised even by
them that knew *him* not,
Urged forward by the ambition of the artificer:
19 For he, wishing peradventure to please one in authority,
Used his art to force the likeness toward a greater beauty;
20 And the multitude, allured by reason of the grace of his
handywork,

wardens of the emperors." Farrar mentions that Augustus was hardly able to prevent the worship of himself in his lifetime: he could only insist that temples in his honour should be associated with temples to Roma. On the rise of Emperor-worship, cp. Westcott, *Epp. of St John*, pp. 268 ff.

Imagining the likeness from afar] lit. the-from-afar-likeness. For the *flattery* which elevates a living man into a god, cp. Acts xii. 22 "It is the voice of a god and not of a man."

18. R.V. treats this *v.* as closely connected with the preceding, in which case *them that knew him not* refers to the same people as those "who dwelt afar off" (*v.* 17), while *worship* is the exaggerated form of the *flattery* of the same *v.* But the *v.* may be viewed as altogether distinct from *v.* 17, and the Gk. be rendered as A.V. "the ignorant" (abs.), i.e. those who do not know what deception is being practised upon them. But καί ("even") makes the R.V. rendering almost certain. In that case, desire to flatter is seen passing into worship, on the part of those who could only know the prince at second-hand. The workman, desiring to secure favour, produced so exquisite a statue, that he captivated the hearts of a people ever ready to deify any surpassing human excellence. And so those who began with grovelling subservience were seduced by beauty into actual worship.

ambition] The artificer's ambition is not that of the artist, but of the place-seeker. A.V. renders *singular diligence* with Vulg.

19. *For he*] In *v.* 17 distant subjects make a representation of a distant king: in this *v.* the court-sculptor makes the statue.

wishing...to please] Painters and sculptors were not the only artists who lived by pleasing. Cp. Plut. *Lysander* "L. always kept the Spartan poet Choerilus in his retinue, that he might be ready to add lustre to his actions by the power of verse." The story of the painter who desired to depict Cromwell without the wart on his face illustrates how painters "force the likeness to greater beauty."

20. *allured by...the grace*] Herodotus records (v. 47) that Philip of Crotona was after his death worshipped as a hero and honoured with sacrifices, because of his extraordinary beauty. The cases are not exactly parallel, but in both beauty leads to deification.

Now accounted as an object of devotion him that a little
before was honoured as a man.
And this became [1]a hidden danger unto life, 21
Because men, in bondage either to calamity or to tyranny,
Invested stones and stocks with the incommunicable Name.

Afterward it was not enough for them to go astray as 22
touching the knowledge of God;
But also, while they live [2]in [3]sore conflict through ignorance
of him,

[1] Gr. *an ambush.* [2] Or, *for* [3] Gr. *a great war of ignorance.*

him that a little before] This seems to point to the connection between *vv.* 17, 18, assumed in text.

21. *And this*] *This* looks back to all recounted in *vv.* 15—20. With the line cp. 1 Kings xii. 30, xiii. 34.

unto life] Either "the world" as Vulg. *mundo*, or "the life of man" as Cod. Amiatinus *uitae humanae*. The latter seems better, cp. 4 Macc. xvii. 14, but see x. 8.

in bondage] By syllepsis the same verb is used with two substantives of dissimilar character, in a sense varying slightly with each. For *calamity* see *v.* 15, and *tyranny*, *vv.* 16—18.

the incommunicable Name] not of Jehovah, but of God. The sin lay in giving the name of deity to things essentially beneath God, cp. Is. xlii. 8 "neither will I give My praise to graven images," and Philo, *Ebr.* § 28 "They actually made unreasoning animals and herbs partakers in the glory of things incorruptible."

vv. **22—31.** THE INEVITABLE SEQUEL OF FALSE WORSHIP IS FALSE LIFE.

22. *it was not enough*] A truth of psychology. Conduct follows creed. Cp. Rom. i. 28 "Even as they refused to have God in their knowledge, God gave them up unto a reprobate mind."

in sore conflict] Vulg. *inscientiae bello.* They live in a state of war arising from ignorance of God, cp. xiii. 1, and yet call it *peace.* A society infested with the social evils enumerated in *vv.* 23 ff. may have no external enemies, but is really in a state of internal war. The life of mutual antagonism dictated by self-seeking is pictured by Philo in a curiously similar passage (*Conf. l.* § 12) "All that is done in war they do in time of peace....Every man sets before him as his goal wealth or honour, and directs the doings of his life at it as if he were shooting arrows at a mark: he neglects fairness, and pursues inequality; he refuses community of interests, and struggles to acquire the property of all for himself alone: he hates his fellowmen, while professing goodwill; is a companion of bastard adulation while an enemy of legitimate friendship; he hates truth and champions falsehood; he is slow to help

That multitude of evils they call peace.
23 For either slaughtering children in solemn rites, or celebrating
secret mysteries,
Or holding frantic revels of strange ordinances,
24 No longer do they [1]guard either life or purity of marriage,
But one brings upon another either death by treachery, or
anguish by adulterate offspring.
25 And all things confusedly are filled with blood and murder,
theft and deceit,
Corruption, faithlessness, tumult, perjury, 26 [2]turmoil,

[1] Or, *keep unstained either life or marriage*
[2] Or, *troubling of the good, forgetfulness of favours*

and swift to injure; foremost in slandering and a laggard in defending: a clever cheat, a perjurer, a breaker of agreements, a slave to anger, a servant of pleasure, a guardian of things evil, and a destroyer of things good. All these things are the appanage of that widely sung and highly vaunted *peace*; things which the idolatrous mind of the foolish admires and adores." Similarly, the writer in this *v.* is complaining of the social and intestine conflict of interests which is possible while a state is said to be at peace. Cp. Jer. vi. 14 "Peace, peace, when there is no peace."

23. *slaughtering children*] Cp. xii. 5 and Is. lvii. 5.

secret mysteries] The writer had the Jew's instinctive hatred of the pagan mysteries. The standard of moral purity which was required for participation in the mysteries was "consistent with habitual disregard of some of the elementary moral rules of the...Hebrew religion."

frantic revels] e.g. the Bacchanalian orgies such as those by which the Temple was polluted in the time of Antiochus, cp. 2 Macc. vi. 1—7. The Phrygian mysteries, the Babylonian worship of Aphrodite (Hdt. i. 199), and orgies of Bacchus-worship were typical instances of the strange ordinances which flourished where God was unknown.

24. Neither the sacredness of the individual life, nor the sanctity of the marriage tie, is observed; treacherous murders, and children born of adulterous unions are a commonplace.

25. *blood and murder*] For the catalogue of sins in *vv.* 25, 26, cp. Rom. i. 29; Gal. v. 19—21; 1 Tim. i. 9. See also Jer. vii. 9, Hos. iv. 2, and the citation from Philo, *Conf. l.* on *v.* 22.

Corruption] Moral corruption generally, cp. 2 Pet. ii. 10.

faithlessness...perjury] These two sins go together in *Conf. l.* § 12. The former is like "covenant-breakers" in Rom. i. 31, cp. Jer. iii. 7 LXX.; the latter is dealt with in *vv.* 28—31.

tumult] Disorders of all kinds. Cp. 2 Cor. xii. 20.

26. *turmoil*] Text takes θόρυβος alone, Vulg. joins with ἀγαθῶν, *tumultus bonorum*, so marg. If "turmoil" must be taken alone, it seems much the same as "tumult." If, however, marg. is possible,

Ingratitude for benefits *received*,
Defiling of souls, confusion of [1]sex,
Disorder in marriage, adultery and wantonness.
For the worship of [2]those [3]nameless idols 27
Is a beginning and cause and end of every evil.
For *their worshippers* either make merry unto madness, or 28
prophesy lies,
Or live unrighteously, or lightly forswear themselves.
For putting their trust in lifeless idols, 29
When they have sworn a wicked oath, they expect not to
suffer harm.

[1] Or, *kind* [2] Or, *idols that may not be named* See Ex. xxiii. 13; Ps. xvi. 4; Hos. ii. 17. [3] See ver. 21.

and the sense of "trouble given to good men" is allowed, the expression refers to such cases as that of ch. ii. The balance of the line favours marg., cp. 2 Tim. iii. 3 ἀφιλάγαθοι, "no lovers of good."

Ingratitude for benefits] or, if ἀγαθῶν is taken with θόρυβος, *forgetfulness of favours* marg., cp. 2 Tim. iii. 2 "unthankful."

Defiling of souls] Cp. Jer. v. 26; 2 Pet. ii. 14 "beguiling unstable souls," and 2 Tim. iii. 6.

confusion of sex] Cp. Rom. i. 27.

Disorder in marriage] Farrar quotes Seneca on the frightful prevalence of divorce in the Imperial epoch: women reckoned their years by their discarded husbands. Philo (*Cher.* § 27) writes of μεθημερινοὶ γάμοι, "marriages of a day."

wantonness] Philo, *Cher.* § 27, with his customary fulness, details a long list of wantonnesses commonly indulged in.

27. *nameless*] Vulg. *infandorum*. But ἀνώνυμος hardly means "unnameable," as the marginal references to the prohibition of Ex. xxiii. 13, etc. would suggest, but "without a name." The name of anything was the symbol of its existence; hence *nameless idols* means idols which represent no real gods, cp. Gal. iv. 8.

beginning...and end] Philo (*Plant.* § 18) uses the same Greek words of God, whom he calls "beginning and end of all things." The insertion here of *cause* only intensifies the causal meaning of the words (as distinguished from the temporal).

28. Four results of idolatry: madness (μεμήνασιν, with a side-reference to Bacchanalian revellers, μαινάδες, "mad women"), false ideals, injustice, perjury. All these may be traced in Jer. v., which is a typical denunciation of idolatry (1) *v.* 8, (2) *v.* 31, (3) *v.* 1, (4) *v.* 7.

29. The writer implies that it was convenient to believe in false gods, because it was possible to swear by them and yet have no fear of breaking the oath. But it is a wrong inference that perjury, however universal, proves the falsity of the gods whose name is taken in vain.

30 But for both *sins* shall the just doom pursue them,
Because they had evil thoughts of God by giving heed to idols,
And swore unrighteously in deceit through contempt for holiness.
31 For it is not the power of them by whom men swear,
But it is [1]that Justice which hath regard to them that sin,
That visiteth always the transgression of the unrighteous.

15 But thou, our God, art gracious and true,

[1] Gr. *the Justice of them that sin.*

It only proves scepticism, or want of sense of responsibility in the perjurers. Just as among the Jews the oath by the living God was binding upon all but the worst, so among the heathen there were some deities in whose name very few would dare to swear falsely, e.g. the Cabiri, cp. Juv. iii. 144. ἀδικηθῆναι (suffer harm) loosely for δίκην δοῦναι (be punished); or should we read ἐκδικηθῆναι (suffer vengeance)?

30. *for both* sins] *Pursue* governs double acc. The double sin was (*a*) giving the name of God to idols, and (*b*) venturing to despise the sanctities of life. With (*a*) cp. *v.* 21 c, an argument which would appeal to Jews. With (*b*) Deane compares Ez. xvii. 18, 19. *Holiness* stands for whatever measure of truth and honour the perjurer might be expected to possess. Plutarch, quoting a saying of Lysander "children were to be cheated with cockalls, and men with oaths," writes "He who overreaches by a false oath, declares that he fears his enemy, but *despises his God.*" The writer's argument is that even if idols cause no fear, every man ought to carry a fear within him: punishment awaits the man who has stifled that sacred instinct.

31. *Justice which hath regard*] The writer views Justice in an objective light, so that (whatever false gods men may acknowledge and perjure themselves by) God's avenging minister will find them out, as in Acts xxviii. 4 or Philo, *Jos.* § 29 "The Justice that watches over human affairs, who displays the inexorableness of her nature against those that deserve punishment," cp. id. *Conf. l.* § 24 fin. For the idea of vengeance following on perjury, cp. Aristoph. *Pax* 277 "If any of you were initiated in Samothrace, now would it be well to pray that the feet of the avenger (the Cabiri) be turned away from pursuit of you."

Chapter XV.

vv. **1—6.** The purifying and restraining influence of the worship of Jehovah upon the life of Israel.

1. The writer turns away from the appalling picture of the results of idolatry to the character of the true God with its influence on the national life, "But Thou, *our* God...."

Longsuffering, and in mercy ordering all things.
For even if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy dominion; 2
But we shall not sin, knowing that we have been accounted thine:
For to be acquainted with thee is [1]perfect righteousness, 3
And to know thy dominion is the root of immortality.

[1] Gr. *entire.*

gracious, etc.] The four attributes of God here named are based on the revelation of Ex. xxxiv. 6, cp. Dt. xxxii. 4 LXX. "God, His works are true, and all His ways are judgments: God is faithful and there is no unrighteousness (in Him); righteous and holy is the Lord." For *gracious* (χρηστός), cp. St Luke vi. 35 and Rom. xi. 22. God is *true*, not only because He alone is God, but because He keeps His promises to His people.

ordering all things] Cp. xii. 15.

2. The first clause of this *v.* is to be interpreted by the second of the next *v.*, and the second clause of this by the first of next *v.*

For...we are thine] The clause, introd. by *For*, illustrates God's mercy spoken of in the preceding *v.* Even sin cannot frustrate God's goodness to His people, cp. Rom. iii. 3. *Thine, knowing thy dominion* is explained by *v.* 3 b as "Thine, possessing the root of immortality," i.e. even though we sin, yet our faith in the effective power of the true God saves us from the licentiousness of the heathen, which is spiritual death. For *we are thine*, cp. Ex. xxxiv. 9 fin. LXX.

But we shall not sin] He rejects the hypothesis of sin in those who are named as God's. The point of view is ideal, but it is only an anticipation of 1 John iii. 6, v. 18. Cp. also Ecclus. x. 2.

3. *to be acquainted with thee*] Text suggests a difference of sense between ἐπίστασθαι (be acquainted) in 3 a and εἰδέναι (know) in 3 b. No distinction can be safely pressed. There is a natural tendency to variation. "To know God is perfect righteousness"; the aphorism contains the principle of which *v.* 2 b is the application: the knowledge of God is not a matter of intellect, but of moral apprehension. Just as St John writes (1 John iv. 8) "He that loveth not knoweth not God," i.e. To know God is to love, so the writer lays down the principle "To know God is to be wholly righteous." Cp. Jer. ix. 23, 24.

to know thy dominion] As in the prec. *l.*, the emphasis is on *thy*. Even the intellectual possession of a right theology has its value. On the assumption that he who knows is guided by his knowledge, such knowledge may be described as the root, the beginning, the first element of immortality. If righteousness is immortal (ch. i. 15), the first step to immortality is the discovery of Him who is righteous. For the use of *root*, cp. iii. 15 and Ecclus. i. 20, and 1 Tim. vi. 10 (cp. Prov. ix. 10). Life is frequently explained in moral terms, cp. Dt. xxx. 20 (as the love of God), St John xvii. 3 (as the knowledge of God), and Philo, *Fuga* § 15 (as the taking refuge in Him who is).

4 For neither were we led astray by any evil device of men's art,
Nor yet by painters' fruitless labour,
A form stained with varied colours;
5 The sight whereof leadeth fools into [1]lust:
Their desire is for the breathless form of a dead image.
6 Lovers of evil things, and worthy of such hopes *as these*,

[1] Some authorities read *reproach*.

4. *For*] See *v.* 2 "We are thine, for...."

evil device of men's art] κακότεχνος (evil...art) recalls τεχνίτης (artificer) and τέχνη (art) xiv. 18, 19: the writer makes it plain that he thinks art evil, and the cause of idolatry. ἐπίνοια (device) is used in a bad sense as in xiv. 12. Israel as a nation was never seduced into idolatry; there was always a remnant, which stood ideally for the whole people, cp. 1 K. xix. 18. But the writer is more probably thinking of contemporary Judaism in contrast to the nations among whom the Jews of the Dispersion were settled. The effect of the Captivity was to confirm the post-exilic Jews in their antagonism to idolatry.

painters' fruitless labour] Philo (*Gig.* § 13) writes "Moses banished from his polity the noble arts of sculpture and painting: they made a counterfeit presentment of the true, and consequently deceived human souls by deluding the eye." For *fruitless labour*, cp. Eph. v. 11, and ch. iii. 13 (note on *fruit*).

stained with varied colours] Cp. xiii. 14. Statues and images were habitually coloured. The use of the word *stained* is contemptuous. While God never displayed Himself under any form or shape (Dt. iv. 12), the gods of the heathen not only *were* forms, but stained ones.

5. *lust*] Text reads rightly with ℵAC ὄρεξιν, Vulg. *concupiscentiam*. B has ὄνειδος *reproach*, which is accounted for by εἰκόνος εἶδος immediately below. Sight passes into desire, and desire into worship. In his essay on Art in *Religious Thought in the West*, Bp. Westcott suggests the true function of art. As it is through the senses that temptation chiefly comes, the service of art is to teach the senses true enjoyment, so that their taste may be spoiled for mean things, and they may learn to find satisfaction only in that which elevates.

the breathless form] See xiv. 19, 20. The story of Pygmalion of Cyprus and his ivory statue is quoted by Grimm from Arnobius *Adv. nat.* vi. 22.

6. *worthy of such hopes*] Cp. i. 16. *Hopes* may be the futile trust in idols, cp. xiii. 10, or else the idols themselves, which are such delusive objects of trust. The writer's doctrine of affinity appears again; men find the gods that suit them. *They that do*, see *v.* 4.

desire...worship] See *v.* 5.

Are both they that do, and they that desire, and they that worship.

For a potter, kneading soft earth, 7
Laboriously mouldeth each several *vessel* for our service:
Nay, out of the same clay doth he fashion
Both the vessels that minister to clean uses, and those of a contrary sort,
All in like manner;
But what shall be the use of each *vessel* of either sort,
The [1]craftsman *himself* is the judge.
And also, labouring to an evil end, he mouldeth a vain god 8
out of the same clay,
He who, having but a little before been made of earth,

[1] Gr. *worker in clay.*

vv. 7—13. THE CONTEMPTIBLE FOLLY OF THE MAKER OF CLAY IDOLS.

Hitherto the idols have been his mark, now he attacks the idol-maker. For a man of clay to make gods of clay—for one who works with a material which is a perpetual reminder to him of his own origin and futility, both to make counterfeits of metal images and to forget the lessons he might have learnt from his craft, is foolishness of mind and character. Further, he impeaches the motives of the idol-maker: he is led on by rivalry and the desire for gain, *vv.* 9, 12.

7. *potter*] The idol-maker is contemptuously called a potter; cp. the "carpenter" of xiii. 11. It is part of the writer's method of contempt to suggest that the making of idols takes its place in the day's work with the making of tables and pots. For the potter's work, see Is. xlv. 9, lxiv. 8; Ecclus. xxxviii. 29, 30; Test. xii Patr. *Napht.* ii.

out of the same clay] Cp. Rom. ix. 21.

clean uses, and...contrary] St Paul seems to recall this passage in 2 Tim. ii. 21.

is the judge] Cp. Jer. xviii. 4, and Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 1 ff. "Once I was a useless log, and a carpenter, after hesitating whether to make a stool of me or a figure of Priapus, decided to make me into a god."

8. *labouring to an evil end*] The word κακόμοχθος takes up *laboriously* (ἐπίμοχθος) of *v.* 7; it has much the same meaning as "evil-devising" (κακότεχνος), *v.* 4. κακόμοχθος almost means "unconscionable." The clay-worker is engaged in a sham creation. God made man out of clay; the clay turns round and makes a god.

made of earth] Gen. ii. 7; Job x. 9.

After a short space goeth his way *to the earth* out of which
he was taken,
When he is required to render back the [1]soul which was lent
him.
9 Howbeit he hath anxious care,
Not because his powers must fail,
Nor because his span of life is short;
But he matcheth himself against goldsmiths and [2]silver-
smiths,
And he imitateth moulders in [3]brass,
And esteemeth it glory that he mouldeth counterfeits.

[1] Or, *life* [2] Gr. *silver-founders.* [3] Or, *copper*

to the earth *out of which*] Gen. iii. 19; Job xxxiv. 15, see also Ecclus. xvii. 1, 2, xl. 1, 11, xli. 10.

to render back the soul which was lent him] Man's spirit is received as a loan (*v.* 16); the loan must sooner or later be called in (cp. St Luke xii. 20). See Introd. § 12. The idea is seen in Lucretius iii. 971 "Life is granted to none in fee-simple, to all in usufruct." Cp. Ambr. (*de Bon. Mort.* 10) "The soul is required, but it is not destroyed." Philo is very familiar with the idea, see *Abr.* § 44; *Q. R. D. H.* § 22 "Strive to count what you have received as worthy of all care, that He who placed it in your keeping may have no fault to find with your guardianship," and *Post C.* § 2 "Each man has to pay back his loan to nature, whenever she chooses to call in the debts outstanding to her." This conception is due to Greek influence. A. B. Davidson (*Theol. of O.T.* p. 197) writes "While in earlier books the question is not raised as to what becomes of the life-spirit in man when he dies, in later books this spirit is spoken of more as if it had an independent being of its own. That is, the immaterial element in man is identified with the spirit of life or principle of vitality in him. 'The spirit shall return unto God who gave it' (Eccles. xii. 7)."

9. The workman's misplaced anxiety. He is not thinking of his own human frailty, but of competition with metal workers, and of his success in imposing counterfeits on the market.

powers must fail] κάμνειν, Vulg. *laboraturus est*, i.e. grow sick and weary.

span of life] Cp. ch. ii. 1; Job x. 20.

matcheth himself against] This is probably an exaggeration on the writer's part. Clay images were no doubt made to look as much like the precious metals as possible: but that they were deliberately palmed off as gold and silver there is no reason to believe. Farrar writes that in the Egyptian tombs have been found many scarabs and idols of clay, gilded, or bronzed, or covered with a vitrified covering.

esteemeth it glory] Not only does he make a counterfeit god, but

His heart is ashes, 10
And his hope of less value than earth,
And his life of less honour than clay:
Because he was ignorant of him that moulded him, 11
And of him that inspired into him [1]an active [2]soul,
And breathed into him a vital spirit.

[1] Gr. *a soul that moveth to activity.* [2] Or, *life*

by his spurious imitations he produces a counterfeit of a counterfeit; and this his shame, he counts his glory.

10. *His heart is ashes*] Another abrupt characterisation as in *v.* 6. The expression is drawn from Is. xliv. 20 LXX. (see Introd. § 2), where through confusion of Hebrew letters the words for "he feedeth on ashes: a heart" are wrongly rendered "know that their heart is ashes." Cp. Ezek. xi. 19, xxxvi. 26.

his hope of less value] If his god is a piece of baked clay, then the hope he reposes upon his god is still more worthless. Cp. Eph. ii. 12.

his life...clay] In the idol-maker's life there is no upward look, no acknowledgment of God as his Maker. Therefore his life has less honour than even the clay. For all created things (including earth) praise the Lord, cp. Song of the Three Children, *v.* 52: and the giver of praise is himself elevated by his tribute.

11. He wilfully ignores his Maker, cp. Is. i. 3; Rom. i. 28.

moulded him] Gen. ii. 7. He moulds a god (*v.* 8), ignoring the fact that he himself was moulded by God.

an active soul] It would seem as though the commonly accepted trichotomy of body, soul, and spirit were present in this *v.*, cp. Heb. iv. 12, 1 Thess. v. 23. But in *Theol. of O. T.*, p. 186, Prof. Davidson argues that the analysis is rhetorical and not to be taken literally. With regard to "soul" and "spirit," the Jews viewed the immaterial part of man in various lights: soul was not for them distinct from spirit, but "the same thing under different aspects. 'Spirit' connotes energy, power, especially vital power; and man's inner nature in such aspects, as exhibiting power, energy, life of whatever kind, is spoken of as *spirit*. The soul on the other hand is the seat of the sensibilities. The idea of 'spirit' is more that of something objective and impersonal; that of soul suggests what is reflexive and impersonal." Cp. *op. cit.*, the whole of section VI., The Doctrine of Man, pp. 182—203. For the later and not strictly Jewish doctrine of the tripartite nature of man in N.T., see Lightfoot, *Notes on Epp. of St Paul*, p. 88.

a vital spirit] The phraseology is very similar to that in Gen. ii. 7, on which passage Prof. Davidson writes (*op. cit.* p. 194) "All that seems in question here is just the giving of vitality to man. There seems no allusion to man's immaterial being, to his spiritual element....Vitality is communicated by God....The anthropomorphism of the author is very strong. He represents God Himself as having a breath which is the

12 But [1]he accounted our *very* life to be a [2]plaything,
And our [3]lifetime a gainful [4]fair;
For, saith he, one must get gain whence one can, though it be by evil.
13 For this man beyond all others knoweth that he sinneth,

[1] Some authorities read *they accounted.* [2] Or, *sport*
[3] Or, *way of life* [4] Or, *keeping of festival*

sign or principle of life in Himself; and this He breathed into man, and it became the same in him."

The writer practically identifies "soul" and "spirit" *vv.* 8, 16, and the distinction lies between the two epithets of the one life-principle. For vital (ζωτικὸν), cp. Philo, *Det. Pot.* § 22, where he says that man is animal as well as human. As animal he possesses "vital" (ζωτική) faculty, while as man he enjoys "rational" (λογική) faculty as well.

12. *he accounted*] *They* (marg.), i.e. the idol-maker and the heathen generally.

our very *life*] ζωὴ, i.e. the life-principle, that which differentiates between mineral and animal (cp. note on *v.* 11). It is treating life as a trifle, when man, who is clay, but clay suffused with vitality, sets before himself for worship a piece of clay unredeemed by any trace of life, that might be made into household utensils. It has been suggested that ζωὴ and βίος (next *l.*) are merely poetical variations, and should not be distinguished; but in each case the predicates are quite different, and accordingly the subjects may be treated as distinct.

And our lifetime] Better, *way of life*, marg., Vulg. *conuersationem uitae.* βίος in this sense is the practical life, the life of affairs. The idol-maker's view of daily life is that it is like a public market, where every man makes the best bargain he can. The Gk. word (παν-ηγυρισμός) includes the two ideas of festival and fair. Pythagoras (Diog. La. viii. 8) used to "compare life to a festival, to which some went to contend, others for commercial purposes, and the best in order to look on: so in life (he said) some are slavish, pursuing honour and lucre, while others, the philosophers, look for truth." Epictetus (ii. 14) expands these words of Pythagoras. Cp. the account of the commerce of Tyre, Ezek. xxvii. and St James iv. 13—15.

gain whence one can, etc.] Cp. Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 65 "rem facias rem Si possis recte - si non quocumque modo rem." Farrar quotes Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 204 "lucri bonus est odor ex re Qualibet."

though it be by evil] The idol-maker in this *v.* is distinguished from the idolater of xiii. 17, in that he has no belief in the idols he makes. He crowns his greed with chicanery.

13. *knoweth that he sinneth*] To all his other enormities he adds this that he refuses to obey the truth that his own senses should bear in upon his mind. He makes household vessels out of clay, things which will break with the slightest fall (εὔθραυστα), and then he makes gods out of

Out of earthy matter making brittle vessels and graven images.
But most foolish [1]*were* they all, and [2]of feebler soul than a babe, 14
The enemies of thy people, who oppressed them;
Because they even accounted all the idols of the nations *to be* gods; 15
Which have neither the use of eyes for seeing,
Nor nostrils for drawing breath,
Nor ears to hear,
Nor fingers for handling,
And their feet are helpless for walking.

[1] Or, are [2] Gr. *more wretched than the soul of a babe.* The Greek text here is perhaps corrupt.

the same material, and worships gods which are subject to precisely similar risks: he worships a brittle, breakable god.

vv. **14—17.** WHATEVER MAY BE THE WICKEDNESS OF THE MAKER OF CLAY IDOLS, THERE IS NO ONE TO COMPARE FOR STUPIDITY WITH THE OPPRESSORS OF ISRAEL, WHO RECKONED ALL HEATHEN IDOLS AS GODS.

14. *The enemies...who oppressed*] The reference would seem to be to the Egyptians. The writer has made a digression of three chapters (beginning from xii. 27, where the Egyptians were in question), and in ch. xvi. he will be found speaking of them again. *vv.* 14—17 form the link between digression and main argument. This view is supported by *oppressed them*, which points to a past persecution; cp. also the reference in *v.* 18 to animal worship. But it is not clear how *v.* 15 refers to the Egyptians, for it was not they, but the Romans of imperial times, who were the true religious eclectics. But even the Romans did not receive the full tide of Phrygian, Egyptian, Persian, and Syrian cults until long after the latest date at which Wisdom could have been written. See Gregg, *Decian Persecution*, p. 49. The Egyptians may have practised a general tolerance of foreign deities (cp. the worship of Perseus at Chemis, Hdt. ii. 91), while adhering strictly to their own national cults. The chief Egyptian persecutions of the Jews were under Ptolemy Philopator c. 217 B.C., and Ptolemy Physcon, who persecuted for seven years (145—138), though later becoming pacified, while the oppression of Exodus was never allowed to be forgotten. The writer forgets that he is writing as Solomon, unless *oppressed them* is taken to refer to no oppression except the earliest.

15. This *v.* is a free imitation of Ps. cxv. 4—7, cxxxv. 15—17, cp. also Philo's version in *Dec.* § 15. For the first *l.*, cp. also Ps. xcvi. 5.

16 For a man made them,
And one whose own spirit is borrowed moulded them;
For no one hath power, *being* a man, to mould a god like unto himself,
17 But, being mortal, he maketh a dead thing by the work of lawless hands;
For he is better than the objects of his worship,
[1]Forasmuch as he indeed had life, but they never.

18 Yea, and the creatures that are most hateful do they worship,

[1] Most authorities read *Of which, he indeed.*

16. *whose own spirit is borrowed*] See *v.* 8, and cp. Ps. civ. 29; Eccl. viii. 8.

For no one hath power] Man's life is not inherent, but derived: accordingly, though he can transmit life by natural processes, he cannot implant life in the works of his hands. No man can make a god which is even on a level with himself: however much the workman may call his work his god, the workman must always be superior to his work. On the other hand, spiritually "they that make them are like unto them" (Ps. cxv. 8): their heart is ashes.

17. *a dead thing*] Cp. xiii. 10, 18, xiv. 8.

he is better] He is mortal, and will have to die one day; but his idol has never even been alive. The contrast explains why the worker's hands are lawless: it is impiety for the animate, possessing the image of God, to bow to the inanimate. Philo (*Dec.* § 14) writes "The workman is better than his work both in time (for he is older and in some sense its father) and in faculty. And although (if they were going to sin) men ought to have deified their painters and sculptors, they have actually left them in obscurity, and given the name of gods to their statues and paintings."

Forasmuch as] So ℵ (ἀνθ' ὧν) Vulg. *quia*, "because." Other MSS. read ὧν, *of which, he indeed*, etc.

but they never] Cp. Hab. ii. 18, 19.

vv. **18, 19.** THE FOLLY OF EGYPTIAN ANIMAL WORSHIP.

18. *vv.* 18, 19 form an introduction to ch. xvi., and must be taken closely with it.

creatures...most hateful] Cp. xii. 24. Diog. La. (*proem.* vii. 11) writes that the Egyptians honour the useful animals as gods. Philo (*Post. C.* § 48) writes that they deify bulls and rams and goats. This (*Dec.* § 16) is quite intelligible; they are useful and tame. But they go further and deify wild beasts, lions, crocodiles, poisonous asps, and besides these dogs, cats, wolves, the ibis and the hawk, and fishes

[1]For, being compared as to want of sense, these are worse than all others;
Neither, as seen beside *other* creatures, are they beautiful, 19
so that one should desire them,
But they have escaped both the praise of God and his blessing.
For this cause were *these men* worthily punished through 16
creatures like *those which they worship*,

[1] The Greek text here is perhaps corrupt.

(whole or in part); see note in F. C. Conybeare, *Vit. Cont.* p. 261. Juvenal (*Sat.* xv. 1 ff.) writes of the crocodile, ibis, monkey, cat, fish as Egyptian deities; "in fact, while you may not kill a kid, you may eat the flesh of man."

as to want of sense] The Egyptians worship deities which have neither intelligence nor beauty to recommend them. *Want of sense* points to the less intelligent members of the pantheon, the fish, the crocodile, the serpent.

19. *Neither...beautiful*] These unintelligent creatures cannot even appeal to beauty to commend them as objects of worship. The crocodile e.g. is a revolting monster, devoid of grace and comeliness.

should desire them] Cp. *v.* 5.

have escaped both the praise] But Gen. i. 21, 25, 30, 31 show that originally the entire animal creation was "good." Even the serpent was not cursed till after the Fall (Gen. iii. 14). Perhaps the serpent (under which form the Egyptians worshipped Kneph) is the chief, or sole object of the attack in these two *vv.*

CH. XVI.

The Egyptian animal-worshippers were punished by an animal plague, while on the other hand animals were used to benefit Israel. Even when the Israelites were plagued with fiery serpents, they merely tasted suffering by way of teaching, while the Egyptians were severely chastised, when beset with flies and locusts (1—14). Similarly, fire and water, heat and cold, fought against the Egyptians and for the Israelites. The elements, in so doing, not only carried out the will of God, but taught the Israelites lessons concerning both God as the source of all blessing, and the duty of thanksgiving (15—29).

These form the first two of a series of five comparisons between the fortunes of Israel and Egypt, which occupy the remaining chapters of the book.

vv. **1—4.** THE EGYPTIANS WERE PUNISHED THROUGH THE ANIMALS THEY WORSHIPPED.

1. *For this cause*] See xv. 18, 19.

worthily punished] As in i. 16, men get what, by their own choice,

And tormented through a multitude of vermin.
2 Instead of which punishment, thou, bestowing benefits on thy people,
Preparedst quails for food,
Food of [1]rare taste, to *satisfy* the desire of *their* appetite;
3 To the end that [2]thine enemies, desiring food,
Might for the hideousness of the *creatures* sent among them
Loathe even the necessary appetite;
But these, *thy people*, having for a short space suffered want,
Might even partake of *food of* [1]rare taste.

[1] Gr. *strange.* [2] Gr. *those.*

they show to belong to them. The writer reverts to the principle of compensation laid down in xi. 16, and reaffirmed in xii. 23, 27, cp. Philo, *Mos.* i. 17.

vermin] For the Greek word, cp. xi. 15, of the plagues of locusts, frogs, flies, etc.

2. *Instead of which punishment*] As animals were used to plague Egypt, so were they made the instruments of blessing to Israel, cp. Ex. xvi. and Num. xi.

quails for food] Quails "migrate in vast flocks, crossing the Arab. desert. They always fly with the wind. Their bodies are so heavy in comparison with the power of their wings that many perish even in a short passage across the sea, and those which arrive safe are excessively fatigued....Quails, when migrating, begin to arrive at night (Ex. xvi. 13), and are found in large numbers in the morning (Num. xi. 31, 32).... The quail is brown, shaded and mottled with rufous and grey. Its length is 7½ inches. Its flesh is succulent." G. E. Post (Art. *Quails* in Hastings, *D. B.* iv. p. 179), cp. Philo, *Mos.* i. 37.

rare taste] i.e. strange, unaccustomed, because the people had latterly been living on a non-flesh diet.

desire of their *appetite*] God gave them the flesh they cried out for, cp. Ps. lxxviii. 29. There is no thought of God pandering to their appetite by giving any special delicacy, as A.V. "quails to stir up their appetite": their appetite was for flesh, and God gave them flesh.

3. The reason why the Egyptians were punished with animal-plagues was, the writer states, in order that they might be made to loathe the sight of animal food.

the hideousness] C preserves the right reading (the rare word εἰδέχθειαν), against BNA and Vulg.

the creatures *sent*] The frogs in the ovens and kneading-troughs, Ex. viii. 3.

suffered want] The same argument as in xi. 8. The Israelites are to suffer want, in order that their appetite may be stimulated and then proportionately satisfied. There is no scriptural authority for this fancy.

For it was needful that upon those should come inexorable 4
want in their tyrannous dealing,
But that to these it should only be shewed how their
enemies were tormented.
For even when terrible raging of wild beasts came upon [1]thy 5
people,
And they were perishing by the bites of crooked serpents,
Thy wrath continued not to the uttermost;
But for admonition were they troubled for a short space, 6
Having a token of salvation,
To put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy
law:

[1] Gr. *them.*

4. *upon those*] i.e. the Egyptians.
to these...be shewed] i.e. the Israelites, see xi. 9.

vv. **5—14.** THE PLAGUE OF SERPENTS CONTRASTED WITH THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT.

In these *vv.* the plague of the fiery serpents is interpreted as being sent for a brief space only, in order to warn and remind Israel, and to teach two lessons to the Egyptians (*a*) that God was the Saviour of Israel, and (*b*) that the reason why the Egyptians had suffered in a worse degree, was because they deserved it.

5. *terrible raging*] See Num. xxi. 6.
crooked serpents] Cp. Is. xxvii. 1.
Thy wrath continued not to the uttermost] This *l.* explains the impf. *were perishing*. Cp. xviii. 20, and xix. 1. See Ps. ciii. 9 LXX.

6. *But for admonition*] The writer does not consider that the chosen people were chastised in punishment. They touched only the fringe of suffering (*πρὸς ὀλίγον*), and that, with a view to future instruction. For the writer's love of didactic interpretation, cp. xi. 16, xvi. 28; see also Judith viii. 27; 1 Cor. x. 11.

Having a token] The Israelites were not given over to the plague of serpents: the writer implies that the Brazen Serpent was all the while in reserve, ready to check the invasion as soon as its lesson had been taught. ℵA read *counsellor* (*σύμβουλον*), which recalls Philo, *Agr.* §§ 21, 22, where the serpent which deceived Eve is called her "counsellor."

To put them in remembrance] Cp. Num. xxi. 8, 9, and *v.* 11. For Philo's distinction between *memory* and *recollection*, see *Cong.* § 8. The symbol was to remind the people of God and His law: the writer refuses to allow any virtue to the Serpent: God saved the people by reminding them of Himself.

Deane quotes the Jerusalem Targum on Num. xxi., in which the

7 For he that turned toward it was not saved because of that which was beheld,
But because of thee, the Saviour of all.
8 Yea, and in this didst thou persuade our enemies,
That thou art he that delivereth out of every evil.
9 For them verily the bites of locusts and flies did slay,
And there was not found a healing for their life,
Because they were worthy to be punished by such *as these*;
10 But thy sons not the very teeth of venomous dragons overcame,
For thy mercy passed by where they were, and healed them.
11 For they were [1]bitten, to put them in remembrance of thine oracles;
And were quickly saved, lest, falling into deep forgetfulness,

[1] Gr. *pricked.*

divine voice says "Now shall the serpent who has not complained of his food, come and bite the people who complain. So the Word of the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people."

7. *because of...beheld*] Cp. *v.* 12. It was a reminder, but not a sacrament, much less an agent in its own right. Cp St John iii. 14.

Saviour of all] Cp. 1 Tim. iv. 10. For God as Saviour, cp. Is. xlv. 21, and Philo, *Quod D.* § 34, *Sacr.* § 19.

8. *persuade our enemies*] The writer argues, as in xi. 13, on the assumption that the news was carried to Egypt of the fortunes of Israel in the wilderness, cp. Ex. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 13; Dt. ix. 28.

9. *locusts and flies*] See Ex. x. 4—15, viii. 16—24, and ch. xi. 15, cp. Philo, *Mos.* i. 21, 23, 26, for the intensified power of annoyance supposed to be specially conferred upon these creatures. Cp. Jos. *Ant.* ii. 14, 3; Philo, *Mos.* i. 19.

did slay] Cp. Ex. x. 17.

they were worthy] Cp. Rev. xvi. 6; Philo, *Conf. l.* § 36.

10. *venomous*] The same word is used of the serpents in Philo, *Mos.* i. 35, *Agr.* 22. Many of the Egyptians were killed by creatures usually harmless; the Israelites did not succumb to those habitually deadly. Num. xxi. 6 however says "much people of Israel died."

11. *they were bitten*] Cp. *v.* 6. Memory is not uncommonly symbolized as using whips or stings, cp. Philo, *Somn.* ii. 44. Here her stings are not metaphorical, but the actual bites of serpents.

thine oracles] The law of Sinai is called the "living oracles" in Acts vii. 38.

quickly saved] The suffering was only allowed to last long enough to awaken them.

They should become [1]unable to be [2]roused by thy beneficence:
For of a truth it was neither herb nor mollifying plaister 12
that cured them,
But thy word, O Lord, which healeth all things;
For thou hast authority over life and death, 13
And thou leadest down to the gates of Hades, and leadest up again.
But though a man *may* slay by his [3]wickedness, 14

[1] Some authorities read *bereft of help from thy beneficence.* [2] Gr. *distracted*, or, *drawn away*. The meaning is somewhat obscure. [3] Or, *malice*

unable to be roused] Vulg. *ne...non possent tuo uti adiutorio.* The sense is plain, but it is not clear whether marg. *bereft of help from* (ἀπερίστατοι) should be read for ἀπερίσπαστοι. Marg., with support of Vulg., seems more probable. For a short space they must be deprived of the sense of God's beneficence, that they might learn to value it more.

12. *neither herb nor...plaister*] Cp. *v.* 7, and *v.* 26. Philo, *Sacr.* § 19 writes "Men do not trust God the Saviour completely, but have recourse to the aids which nature offers, doctors, herbs, medical compounds, rigid diet." But for a different view, cp. Ecclus. xxxviii. 1—8. For *plaister* (μάλαγμα), cp. Is. i. 6 LXX.

thy word,...which healeth] Cp. Ps. cvii. 20 "He sent His word and healed them." There must be no confusion between the Logos of this passage and the Alexandrine Logos (of Philo). The thought is borrowed from the Psalms, and the Logos here means what is meant by Logos there (see Introd. § 10). It is unlikely that it contains even all that is to be found in the Logos of ch. xviii. 15. God's "word" heals, because it is God's *expressed will* that there should be healing; see note in this series on Ps. cvii. 20. God's "word" is merely a periphrasis for God in active relation with men.

13. *vv.* 13, 14 bear traces of connection with Dt. xxxii. 39; 1 Sam. ii. 6, while *v.* 15 is also connected with the former.

authority over life and death] i.e. the right and the power to give life and to take it away.

the gates of Hades] A variation of the preceding line, except that the order is significantly reversed, "Thou takest away life and givest it back." "*To* the gates" is not πρὸς (towards), but εἰς (into): God kills, but He can restore. Gates involve keys, which God, as overlord, possesses, cp. Rev. i. 18; and the holding of the keys implies the right to unlock. For "gates of Hades," cp. Job xxxviii. 17; Is. xxxviii. 10; 3 Macc. v. 51; also Ps. ix. 13, cvii. 18, "gates of death." For God's power to bring down and lift up, see Job v. 18.

14. This *v.* does not belong to the argument, being only an appendix to the declaration of God's power in *v.* 13. God is a life-giving power;

Yet the spirit that is gone forth he turneth not again,
Neither giveth release to the soul that *Hades* hath received.

15 But thy hand it is not possible to escape;
16 For ungodly men, [1]refusing to know thee, were scourged in the strength of thine arm,
Pursued with strange rains and hails and showers inexorable,
And utterly consumed with fire;

[1] Or, *denying that they knew thee*

He can kill and restore: but man only controls life so far as to be able to take it away. The point of the contrast is that, while man in his weakness can only deal out death, God can both inflict death and restore to life.

spirit] For the probable identity of *soul* and *spirit*, see ch. xv. 11.

he turneth not again] The vb. ἀναστρεφειν is transitive as in ii. 5, but Vulg. *non reuertetur*. For man's powerlessness in face of death, see Job vii. 9, 10.

giveth release] Vulg. *reuocabit*; ἀναλύειν, transitive here, is probably intr. in ii. 1.

that Hades *hath received*] Cp. Tob. iii. 6. King Hades receives the dead soul. Man cannot rescue his brother, Ps. xlix. 7, 8, but God can redeem from the "hand" of Hades, id. 15 LXX.

vv. **15—29.** How heat and cold, ignoring the laws that usually govern them, punished Egypt and served Israel.

15. *thy hand*] i.e. thy power. This *v.*, following on *v.* 13, has close affinity with Dt. xxxii. 39 (cp. Is. xliii. 13). Is. x. 14 LXX. has "There is none that shall escape Me (My hand)," while in Tob. xiii. 2, a passage occurs which is either the model or the reproduction of this. Cp. Amos ix. 1—4.

16. *ungodly men*] Allusively as usual for the Egyptians.

refusing to know] Cp. xii. 27; Ex. v. 2 supports the marginal alternative.

Pursued with strange rains] Cp. Ex. ix. 18—22, and 24 "hail, such as there was none like it in...Egypt since it became a nation." Philo (*Mos.* i. 20) writes that rain is not needed in Egypt, where the Nile takes its place: consequently on this occasion the air was torn with revolution (ἐνεωτέρισεν), rain, hail, winds, clouds, thunders, lightning all falling upon the land with unparalleled severity. For the absence of rain in Egypt above Memphis, see Dt. xi. 10, 11; Zech. xiv. 18; Philo, *Mos.* iii. 24.

inexorable] Also in *v.* 4. C reads as adv. *inexorably*, perhaps to contrast with *without toil* in *v.* 20.

utterly consumed] Ex. ix. 19, 25.

For, what was most marvellous *of all*, 17
In the water which quencheth all things the fire wrought
yet more mightily;
For the world fighteth for the righteous.
For at one time the flame lost its fierceness, 18
That it might not burn up the creatures sent against the
ungodly,
But that *these* themselves as they looked might [1]see that
they were chased through the judgement of God:
And at another time even in the midst of water it burneth 19
above the power of fire,
That it may destroy the [2]fruits of an unrighteous land.
Instead whereof thou gavest thy people angels' food to eat, 20

[1] Some authorities read *know*. [2] Gr. *products*.

17. See Ex. ix. 24. In the plague of lightning and hail, it seemed as though the hostile elements of fire and water were reconciled for the punishment of the Egyptians. It is futile to speculate as to whether the "fire that ran along the ground" signifies ordinary lightning, or St Elmo's fire, or some unusual manifestation. Philo (*Mos.* i. 20) writes "Compact thunderbolts, of appalling appearance, ran hither and thither through the hail: and for all the variance between their natures, the rain did not quench the fire, nor the fire melt the hail."

the world] i.e. the whole order of nature.

fighteth for the righteous] Cp. ch. v. 17, 20 and esp. *v.* 24, and xix. 6. There is a strong resemblance between this line and "All things work together for good to them that love God" (Rom. viii. 28). St Paul may be recalling this passage when he writes "We know that all things, etc." With ὑπέρμαχος (fighteth for), cp. Clem. Rom. xlv.

18. The writer, with no Scriptural warrant, affirms that the frogs and flies lasted until the plague of hail and fire, but see Ex. viii. 13, 31: the special reference shows that the writer is not thinking of the frogs in the ovens, Ex. viii. 3.

19. If in one case the fire lost its power, in another its power was intensified. There was no hail in the land of Goshen. Cp. Ex. ix. 25, 31. For γενήματα, *fruits* (mg. *products*), cp. St Luke xii. 18, Ps. cv. 32, 33.

20. From this *v.* to the end, the miraculous properties of the manna (metaphorically termed snow and ice, *v.* 22) are recorded and interpreted.

gavest...to eat] Cp. Dt. viii. 3, 16. The word (ψωμίζω) is appropriate to the daily dole, Ex. xvi. 4, 13, 14.

angels' food] Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 25 LXX., and Vulg. The expression is probably a correct rendering of the Hebr. *bread of the mighty*. Cp. the Targum "The sons of men ate bread which came down from the dwelling of the angels."

And bread ready *for their use* didst thou provide for them
from heaven without *their* toil,
Bread having the virtue of every pleasant savour,
And agreeing to every taste;
21 For [1]thy [2]nature manifested thy sweetness toward *thy*
children;
While *that bread*, ministering to the desire of the eater,
Tempered itself according to every man's choice.
22 But snow and ice endured fire, and melted not,

[1] Some authorities read *the substance* thereof.
[2] Or, *creation* Gr. *substance.*

didst thou provide] In Ex. xvi. 4 God "rains" bread from heaven: Philo (*Mos.* i. 36) calls the manna "an abnormal rain," cp. xix. 21, and Ps. lxxviii. 24.

without their *toil*] Philo (*Mos.* ii. 36) calls the manna a food "that cost no labour," as contrasted with corn which must be cultivated.

having the virtue of every pleasant savour] Vulg. *omne delectamentum in se habentem.* It is said to have tasted like honey cakes (Ex. xvi. 31), or fresh oil (Num. xi. 8). But the Jewish legend to which apparently the writer alludes, told that it tasted for each man like grapes or figs or whatever he desired. Aug. (*Retr.* ii. 20) refers to the tradition as being supported by this passage only.

21. *thy nature*] The Gk. word (ὑπόστασις) has caused great difficulty. Two translations are possible (1) God's *Nature* (as in text), not absolutely, but as communicating itself to and through the manna; (2) as marg., "*the substance* thereof," i.e. the manna. The adversative particles μέν and δέ show that *v.* 21 a is contrasted with *v.* 21 b, c; on the Divine side the manna was a revelation of God, while on the human side it ministered to the pleasure of man. The Gk. word perhaps combines the two meanings, and is the manifestation, itself real and substantial, which witnessed to the unseen God. For God's *sweetness*, cp. Ps. cxix. 103, and Ps. xxxiv. 8 "Taste and see."

ministering] Cp. *v.* 24. A new subject is required to agree with the partic. which is masc. Text rightly supplies "that bread."

the eater] For the Gk. (τοῦ προσφερομένου), cp. Judith xii. 9, Philo, *Mos.* i. 37, and Diog. Laert. i. 2. 68.

Tempered itself] Vulg. *conuertebatur.* The Greek word means lit. "to pour from one vessel to another and so mix." The idea is probably the same as that in *v.* 25 "converting itself," and in xix. 18 "changing their order." The four elements were supposed to possess the power of mutual interchange, see Philo, *Mos.* ii. 36, and Pythagoras in Diog. Laert. ii. 8. 25, and the author seems to be endeavouring to supply the Jewish legend with a basis of philosophy.

22. *snow and ice*] The writer's way of describing the manna, cp. xix. 21 "the ice-like grains, apt to melt." Philo (*Mos.* i. 36) speaks

That *men* might know that fire was destroying the fruits of the enemies,
Burning in the hail and flashing in the rains;
And [1]that this *element* again, in order that righteous men may be nourished, 23
Hath even forgotten its own power.
For the creation, ministering to thee its maker, 24
Straineth its force against the unrighteous, for punishment,
And slackeneth it in behalf of them that trust in thee, for beneficence.
Therefore at that time also, converting itself into all forms, 25

[1] Some authorities omit *that*.

of it "as a dew which had been snowed from heaven, which was neither water, nor hail, nor snow, nor ice," i.e. a thing like all of these, but not actually any one of them. Cp. Ex. xvi. 14 "like hoar frost," and Num. xi. 7 LXX. "the appearance of ice." By identifying manna with that which it resembled, the writer is able to suggest a striking miracle.

melted not] By fire he means not sunlight (but see *v.* 27), but hearth-fire. The miracle is that this ice-like substance could be placed in ovens (Num. xi. 8) and yet not melt. Thus the writer shows that fire, which abated or intensified its power to the detriment of the Egyptians, mysteriously accommodated itself to serve the Israelites.

That men *might know*] Cp. *v.* 26. The writer must needs see a moral purpose in every circumstance.

Burning in the hail] Almost a reproduction of the LXX. rendering of Ex. ix. 24, which represents Hebr. "fire taking hold of itself, i.e. flashing incessantly, in the hail," cp. *v.* 17.

23. This verse is still governed by *know that* in last *v.*; so Vulg. "*This* element" refers to the *fire* of last *v.*

Hath even forgotten] This verse rests on a seemingly fanciful identification of the manna with that which it resembled: any truth that there is in the writer's argument lies in the fact that manna exposed to the sun melted (*v.* 27), while it was capable of being baked with artificial heat.

24. A general principle is enunciated. For the Jew there was no conception of a purely physical, non-moral world. The universe was in league with the righteous, and the enemy of the wicked; cp. Judg. v. 20.

ministering to thee its maker] Cp. Philo, *Mos.* i. 36 "Not one part of the universe but the entire world is subjected to God, and the parts of it are prepared for His service in any direction He may desire, like slaves waiting on their master."

Straineth...slackeneth] A metaphor from stringed musical instruments, cp. Philo, *Mut.* § 13; Diog. La. vii. 101. For nature, as opposing the wicked, cp. ch. v. 17, 20; and ministering to the righteous, ch. xvi. 17, xix. 6.

25. *Therefore*] In accordance with the principle laid down in *v* 24.

It ministered to thine all-nourishing bounty,
According to the desire of them that [1]made supplication;
26 That thy sons, whom thou lovedst, O Lord, might learn
That it is not the [2]growth of *the earth's* fruits that nourisheth a man,
But that thy word preserveth them that trust thee.
27 For that which was not marred by fire,
When it was simply warmed by a faint sunbeam melted away;

[1] Or, *had need* [2] Gr. *generations.*

converting itself] The creation, composed of the four elements, was held to be unchangeable in mass, but (as between the several elements) there was unlimited mutual interchange, cp. Philo, *Mos.* ii. 36. Hence the creation, while in one aspect constant, was able to undergo perpetual variation, as God willed. *At that time also*, a particular illustration of the general law. The Greek verb is employed in an unusual sense, cp. iv. 12.

ministered...bounty] Cp. Philo, *Ebr.* § 28 "Ye are instruments to minister to God, in His deathless acts of grace."

all-nourishing bounty] Vulg. *omnium nutrici gratiae tuae*, i.e. the manna. For God as the All-sustainer, cp. Ps. civ. 27, cxxxvi. 25, cxlv. 16.

26. *thy sons, whom thou lovedst*] Cp. Hos. xi. 1.

might learn] Nature was allowed to respond to the prayers of God's people, in order that they might learn to look behind nature to the Divine will that expresses itself through nature.

That it is not the growth...but] These two lines are an expansion of Dt. viii. 3, where LXX. renders the less definite Heb. by "every *word* that proceedeth out of the mouth of God"; cp. St Matt. iv. 4 and St John vi. 32. For the Hebrew idiom, cp. "mercy *and not* sacrifice," i.e. rather than.

The teaching of this *v.* is the same as in *vv.* 7, 12: God uses means, but the means only obtain their vitalizing power from God, and more important than their physical efficaciousness is the constraint they lay upon men to remember God.

But that thy word] Lit., *utterance* (ῥῆμα, not λόγος). Philo identifies the manna with the divine Logos (*Q. R.* § 15) "He has been trained to fix his gaze on the manna, the divine Logos, the heavenly incorruptible food of the soul that loves vision." So also in *Fuga* § 25 "Seeking what it is that feeds the soul, they discovered it to be the utterance (ῥῆμα) of God and the divine Logos, from which all disciplines and wisdoms flow unfailingly," cp. id. *All.* iii. 56.

27. From nature as a witness to the creative power of God, the writer passes to symbolism. The fact that manna, which did not melt in the oven (*vv.* 22, 23, cp. Num. xi. 8), yielded readily to the sun's rays, is interpreted as a symbol of the duty of early prayer.

That it might be known that *we* must rise before the sun to give thee thanks, 28

And must plead with thee at the dawning of the light:

For the hope of the unthankful shall melt as the winter's hoar frost, 29

warmed by a faint sunbeam] Cp. Ex. xvi. 21, Philo, *Mos.* ii. 35 "Whatever remained over after the people had gathered the manna melted under the sun's rays and perished." A curious tradition is given in the *Jerus. Targum* (Etheridge, p. 500), "At the fourth hour when the sun waxed hot upon it, it liquefied and made streams of water, which flowed away into the great sea; and wild animals that were clean and cattle came to drink of it, and the Israelites hunted and ate them."

28. As the manna melted in the sun, so prayer that is later than the dawn loses spiritual substantialness. "A beautiful precept, founded on precarious exegesis" (Farrar). H. Vaughan has the same thought:—

"Yet never sleep the sun up; prayer should
Dawn with the day: these are set awful hours
'Twixt Heav'n and us; the manna was not good
After sun-rising; far day sullies flowers:
Rise to prevent the sun; sleep doth sins glut,
And Heaven's gate opens when the world's is shut."

rise before the sun] Cp. vi. 14, 15; Ps. cxix. 147; Is. xxvi. 9; Ecclus. xxxix. 5.

to give thee thanks] Cp. Epict. ii. 23 "Be not thankless, my friend, or forgetful; but for sight and hearing, yea for life itself and all that contributes to it, for fruits, for wine, for oil, thank God." See Ps. lxiii. 6 "in the night watches" (ἐν τῷ ὄρθρῳ μου); Ps. cxix. 62; Acts xvi. 25.

at the dawning of the light] Rightly, although the Greek could mean *towards the East*. But this rendering would have no connection with the symbolism of the manna. Some, who have ignored this, have seen in the verse an indication that the writer belonged to the Egyptian sect of the Therapeutae who, like the Persians, prayed towards the rising sun, or to the Jewish sect of the Essenes, of whom Josephus writes "Before sun-rising they speak not a word about profane matters, but put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising" (*B. J.* ii. 8. 5). The Jewish daily prayer known as the *shema* beginning "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord" (Dt. vi. 4) was to be recited (according to the Mishna) when the sun's rays lighted up the tops of the mountains. Cp. Ps. v. 3, lvii. 8; Ecclus. xxxii. 14.

29. *the hope of the unthankful*] The writer is inconsequent. The argument should be that the melting manna signifies the need of early rising for purposes of thanksgiving, and that the man who fails to rise early to give thanks finds his hope evaporate. But it is quite gratuitous

And shall flow away as water that hath no use.

17 For great are thy judgements, and hard to [1]interpret;
Therefore souls undisciplined went astray.
2 For when lawless men had supposed that they held a holy nation in their power,
They *themselves*, prisoners of darkness, and bound in the fetters of a long night,
Close kept beneath their roofs,
Lay exiled from the eternal providence.

[1] Or, *set forth*

to say as he does that it is impossible to thank God except at dawn, and that therefore the late riser is thankless.

water that hath no use] Cp. Ps. lviii. 7.

Ch. XVII.—Ch. XVIII. 4.

A third comparison between the fortunes of Israel and Egypt, in respect of light and darkness.

1. *For*] The writer's use of *for* is loose: eight out of the first twelve *vv.* of this ch. begin with "for." If there is any definite reference back to ch. xvi., it is to the general teaching of the whole ch. as summed up in xvi. 15.

thy judgements] i.e. principles of justice, and not judicial acts, cp. Ps. xcii. 5—7; Rom. xi. 33.

Therefore] The principles of divine justice only commend and reveal themselves to those who are taught by Wisdom. There is no understanding of God and His ways where there is no spiritual conformity. With *undisciplined*, cp. ch. vi. 9—11 in a religious-moral connection.

went astray] The Egyptians lost their way in their effort to persecute the chosen people.

2. *For*] Explains *v.* 1.

lawless men] i.e. the Egyptians.

prisoners of darkness] Cp. Ex. x. 21—23, and 2 Pet. ii. 4, and *v.* 17 "one chain of darkness."

a long night] Philo (*Mos.* i. 21) writes "It counted as nothing else than one long night, equal to three days and three nights in length."

Close kept] They were prisoners even in their own houses: Ex. x. 23 "No man rose from his bed for three days" (LXX.).

lay] See prec. note. *Exiled*, i.e. like runaway slaves, cowering in secret places. The Egyptians were punished with darkness, which typified their self-banishment from God's presence and care.

the eternal providence] Cp. vi. 7, xiv. 3; 4 Macc. xiii. 19. *Providence*, cp. xiv. 3, is used almost as in English. The writer treats the darkness as if it actually had the effect of screening them from God.

For while they thought that they were unseen in *their* secret sins, 3
They were [1]sundered one from another by a dark curtain of forgetfulness,
Stricken with terrible awe, and sore troubled by spectral forms.
For neither did [2]the dark recesses that held them guard them from fears, 4
But sounds [3]rushing down rang around them,
And phantoms appeared, cheerless with unsmiling faces.
And no force of fire prevailed to give *them* light, 5

[1] Gr. *scattered by.* [2] Gr. *the recess.*
[3] Some authorities read *troubling them sore.*

3. *unseen in* their *secret sins*] Cp. xiv. 23. Another instance of the principle set forth in xi. 16. They loved darkness (for their misdeeds), therefore it came upon them, cp. Job xxiv. 14. For secret sins, cp. Ps. xix. 12.

sundered one from another] So ℵB Vulg. lit. *scattered* (ἐσκορπίσθησαν). This is not likely to be a corruption of the reading of AC ἐσκοτίσθησαν (*were darkened*), and is to be preferred. The word is very commonly used of the demoralisation of an army, which becomes scattered like the sheep of a flock. The Egyptians were disorganised, each man hiding in his own house. The *dark curtain of forgetfulness* must mean God's forgetfulness. They had exiled themselves from His providence: they desired to be unseen, now they had their wish. Ps. x. 11; Is. xxix. 15. If God "knows" the way of the righteous, He may be said to ignore that of the wicked.

spectral forms] The writer, seeking to enhance the terror of the darkness, either supplements the Scriptural account from Midrashic sources by telling of ghostly apparitions, or is merely recording the hallucinations of the terrified Egyptians. But whether he thinks of demons or of the products of the Egyptian imagination is immaterial.

4. Their own houses were no security against the universal terror. Sounds and shapes pursued them everywhere.

sounds rushing down] This, the bolder and more difficult reading of B marg. AC, is far superior to that of B (see marg.), cp. *descendens*, Vulg. Sounds like the roar of rushing cataracts are intended.

cheerless with unsmiling faces] Euphemistically for "grim with savage faces."

5. *no...fire prevailed*] Philo (*Mos.* i. 21) writes that the darkness was so oppressive that it put fires out, or else engulfed them so completely as to neutralize all their light. Jos. (*Antiq.* ii. 14. 5) writes "By this darkness, the sight of the Egyptians was obstructed, and their breathing was hindered by the thickness of the air, so that they died miserably." Cp. Ex. x. 21 a "darkness which may be felt."

Neither were the brightest flames of the stars strong enough
to illumine that gloomy night:
6 But only there appeared to them the glimmering of a fire
self-kindled, full of fear;
And in terror they deemed the things which they saw
To be worse than that sight, on which they could not gaze.
7 [1]And they lay *helpless*, made the sport of magic art,

[1] Some authorities read *And the mockeries of magic art lay low, and shameful* was *the rebuke &c.*

Neither...the stars] "There was darkness in Egypt three days. No man saw his brother and none arose from his place for three days. But among all the sons of Israel was there light that the wicked among them who died might be buried, and that the righteous might be occupied with the precepts of the law in their dwellings." Etheridge, *Targums* p. 471.

6. *the glimmering of a fire*] There is no indication what the writer refers to, unless with poetic licence (cp. xvi. 18) he anticipates the appearance of the pillar of fire, which darkened upon the Egyptians, but shone upon Israel. The effect of this phenomenon, which gave light in such a way that it could be seen by the Egyptians without their deriving any benefit from it, was to increase their terror. The fire was *self-kindled*, in the sense that its light seemed to originate from no material or obvious source.

in terror they deemed] R.V. in this and following *l.* departs from the sense suggested by the rhythm of the sentence, and adopted by the Vulg. "Terrified by that appearance which they saw not, they reckoned the things they saw to be worse [than they really were]." What is the sight (ὄψις, Vulg. *facies*) which they saw not? That of the angel of the cloud, cp. Ex. xiv. 19, and the *Jerus. Targum*, Etheridge, p. 489 "The Lord looked forth with anger from the column of fire, to hurl upon [the Egyptians] flakes of fire and hail, and from the column of cloud."

It is possible to take the *v.* quite differently, and to view the *glimmering of fire* as some supernatural globe of flame, which flashed in every direction without disclosing the source of the flashes. This flashing fire lit up common objects of vision, which, when thus illuminated, seemed so terrible that the Egyptians were more afraid of them than of the fire itself, which, all unseen, produced these lurid effects. τὰ βλεπόμενα ("the things seen") might be the phantoms of *vv.* 3, 4.

7. *they lay* helpless] So AC, while ℵB Vulg. have sing. κατέκειτο. Text renders ἐμπαίγματα as referring to the Egyptians, *the playthings* of the sorcerers, or else, made a laughing-stock by reason of the failure of the magicians. But marg. gives a better sense, and a more pointed reference to the failure of the magicians, who after some success in Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 7, not only failed in viii. 18, but were miserably discomfited in ix. 11: cp. 2 Tim. iii. 8.

And a shameful rebuke of their vaunts of understanding:
For they that promised to drive away terrors and troublings 8
from a sick soul,
These were *themselves* sick with a ludicrous fearfulness:
For even if no troublous thing affrighted them, 9
Yet, scared with the creepings of vermin and hissings of
serpents, 10 they perished [1]for very trembling,
Refusing even to look on the air, which could on no side
be escaped.
[2]For wickedness, condemned by a witness within, is a 11
coward thing,

[1] Or, *trembling, and refusing to* [2] This is the probable sense: the Greek text is perhaps slightly corrupt.

a shameful rebuke] Rather, as marg. The magicians were as powerless as the people against the darkness and the phantoms.

8. *they that promised*] Cp. Gen. xli. 8.

a sick soul] Cp. 1 Tim. vi. 4 (marg.).

9. *even if no troublous thing*] Complete demoralisation had wrought in the magicians all the effects of panic. During the protracted darkness, when there was nothing really terrible near them save the darkness, memory of past plagues caused their imagination to people it with terrors.

scared] Perf. part. not present, lit. *having been scared*, i.e. when the plagues of the insects and the frogs were in process. These plagues did not continue till the plague of darkness, but during that plague there was a recrudescence of the horror they had engendered. For *vermin* as applied to the lice, flies, and locusts, see xvi. 1, while the reference of *serpents* (ἑρπετά) to the frogs may be argued from xi. 15. The Greek word for *scare* properly means "shooing" a bird. ἐκσεσοβημένοι does not mean "scared *out of their retreats*" (Grimm), for *ex hypothesi* no man moved from his place: ἐκ has an intensifying force.

10. *perished...trembling*] Cp. St Luke xxi. 26.

Refusing even to look on the air] They kept their eyes shut for fear of unknown horrors. *The air in no wise to be escaped* is generally viewed as being the "all-surrounding" air, in which case the epithet is very forceless. May it not rather be the air *that needed no escaping from*? It was innocent of all harm, and contained no terrors. The only terrors were to be found in the minds of the Egyptians. This rendering would fall in completely with that suggested for *v.* 9. All other terrors, beside the objective darkness, were hallucinatory.

11. This and the next two *vv.* are concerned with the effects of inner distraction, as the result either of fear or of sin. There are two readings of 11 a. (1) That of B, followed by Vulg. "For wickedness is a thing innately craven, and bears witness to its own condemnation." (2) That

And, being pressed hard by conscience, always [1]forecasteth
the worst *lot*:
12 For fear is nothing else but a surrender of the succours
which reason offereth;
13 And from within *the heart* the expectation *of them* being less

[1] Most authorities read *hath added.*

based on ℵA, ἰδίῳ (ℵ$^{c.a}$) πονηρία μάρτυρι, "Wickedness, condemned by its own witness, is a craven thing." R.V. adopts (2), and this rendering represents a smoother Greek text than (1), the general sense being "Conscience doth make cowards of us all," and especially of the guilty man.

being pressed hard by conscience] For the Gk. vb. of strong emotional pressure, cp. St Luke xii. 50; 2 Cor. v. 14. *Conscience* is thought of as a second self, standing over against the sinful self. This is the earliest occurrence in the Greek O.T. (in its technical sense) of a word appearing repeatedly in N.T. The word is borrowed from the Stoics, and in their system stands for a man's judgment upon his act when done, rather than for the principle which dictates his action. It means *con-scientia*, his "co-knowledge" existing, as the result of reflection, by the side of his knowledge of the act as done. The idea (σύνοιδα) is found in Euripides (*Or.* 396), and the word in Menander "To all of us conscience is a God," and in Epictetus, who compares it to a *paedagogus*. The idea of conscience is, as might be expected, very prominent in Philo. Cicero, *pro Milone* 23 has "Magna uis est conscientiae in utramque partem."

forecasteth the worst] ℵABC have προσείληφε "hath added." A very much better sense (as in text) is obtained by reading προείληφε "hath forecast" with ℵ (second hand) and Vulg. *praesumit*.

12. Fear is nothing but the surrender of reason. A guilty conscience disturbs the inner equilibrium, and forbids a man to look out upon the world with calm eyes. So close is the connection between the moral and the rational faculty, that "the succours that reason offers" vanish when conscience becomes apprehensive. Vulg. renders thus. It is not surprising that ℵ reads προσδοκία from following line. There was no commoner definition of fear than that it was προσδοκία, "anticipation," cp. Zeno (Diog. La. ii. 7, 112); Epict. ii. 18. 30, iv. 1. 84. Philo (*Mut.* § 30) writes "The presence of evil is pain, and the expectation of it is fear"; and again in *All.* iii. 37.

For the mind as a source of strength, cp. Antisthenes (Diog. La. i. 6. 13) "The mind is an impregnable fortress: walls should be provided in one's own unassailable thoughts." Farrar quotes Verg. *Georg.* ii. 490 "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas Quique metus omnes et inexorabile fatum Subiecit pedibus."

13. This *v.*, together with *v.* 12, explains *v.* 11 b. Fear surrenders the supports of reason: when hope, whose ally is reason, is thus inwardly disabled, its reckoning is all awry: it magnifies its ignorance

Maketh of greater account the ignorance of the cause that
bringeth the torment.
But they, all through the night which was powerless indeed, 14
And which came upon them out of the recesses of power-
less Hades,
All sleeping the same sleep,
Now were haunted by monstrous apparitions, 15
And now were paralysed by their soul's surrendering;
For fear sudden and unlooked for [1]came upon them.

[1] Some authorities read *was poured upon them.*

of the source of the evil that besets it; and the ignorance which is always bewildering, now becomes overpowering.

In the Egyptian darkness, the source and extent and nature of the attendant horrors were all unknown: and if "panic is caused by the surrender of the imagination to ignorance," darkness only made the panic worse by intensifying the ignorance. Cp. "omne ignotum pro magnifico."

The gist of the three *vv.* is this. Moral guilt, when brought home to a man, paralyses his reasoning faculties. Thus fear is engendered: for, where reason has not full play, ignorance with its power of exaggeration takes the place of which reason is dispossessed; and the guilty man is proclaimed a coward.

14. *the night which was powerless indeed*] Vulg. *impotentem.* The darkness was really powerless to hurt, and came from the realm of powerless Hades. Hades is the place of death and impotence: accordingly the night in which it shrouded the earth partook of the same character.

recesses of powerless Hades] Vulg. *ab inferis et ab altissimis inferis* seems to point to βαθυτάτου (deepest), which by confusion with ἀδύνατον in the *l.* above has become ἀδυνάτου. If text is followed *powerless Hades* either is the place whose inhabitants have no strength, or must be interpreted by reference to ch. i. 14 "Hades, who has no dominion on earth." The horror of the great darkness might well be described as hell-born, cp. Job x. 21; Ps. lxxxviii. 6.

sleeping the same sleep] The only way of describing the enforced rest of the Egyptians during a period of seventy-two hours is to be found in terms of night, i.e. sleep. The subject of the sentence, *they*, is now not the magicians, but the Egyptians generally. The *sleep* was shared by all: the experience of each was different.

15. *apparitions*] *vv.* 3, 4.

their soul's surrendering] An evident reference to *v.* 12. Vulg. takes it absolutely of the *treachery* of the soul, *animae traductione.*

fear sudden and unlooked for] The *fear* is expanded in the next four verses. For the sense, cp. xviii. 17; St Luke xxi. 34.

16 So then *every man*, whosoever it might be, sinking down [1]in his place,
Was kept in ward shut up in that prison which was barred not with iron:
17 For whether he were a husbandman, or a shepherd,
Or a labourer whose toils were in the wilderness,
He was overtaken, and endured that inevitable necessity,
For with one chain of darkness were they all bound.
18 Whether there were a whistling wind,
Or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches,
Or a measured fall of water running violently,

[1] Gr. *there*.

16. *So then*] Explains "fear" in prec. *l.* When the darkness suddenly swept over the land, every man fell where he was, and stirred not in his terror.

in his place] lit. *there*, i.e. on the spot; where he was.

kept in ward] Same word as in *v.* 2.

prison...barred not] With the ironical contradiction between subst. and adj., cp. Is. xxix. 9 "drunken, but not with wine." If Lovelace, singing of liberty, can say

> "Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage,"

the author, writing of fear, can conversely tell of a prison made without fetters.

17. *He was overtaken*] Same word as in Gal. vi. 1.

that inevitable necessity] Necessity is used not technically of fate, but of a compelling circumstance, as in 2 Cor. vi. 4 (plur.). *necessity* is explained in the next *l.*

chain of darkness] Cp. *vv.* 2, 16; 3 Macc. vi. 19; 2 Pet. ii. 4. All slept the same sleep, *v.* 14; all were bound with the same chain.

18. *a whistling wind*] All the sounds of nature continued as usual, but for the Egyptians every sound was discordant and terrifying. Farmer, shepherd, field-labourer heard the sounds to which they were accustomed, but with changed ears. The sighing of the wind became like the hissing (συριγμός, cp. *v.* 9) of some reptile. Cp. Lev. xxvi. 36.

noise of birds] The birds' song became a shriek. It shows how subjective the writer thinks the darkness to be, if the birds continued their song. But, of course, he is here giving free play to imagination. The Scriptural account undoubtedly suggests objective darkness.

fall of water] The trickling stream became a "sound rushing down," *v.* 4.

Or a harsh crashing of rocks hurled down, 19
Or the swift course of animals bounding along unseen,
Or the voice of wild beasts harshly roaring,
Or an echo rebounding from [1]the hollows of the mountains,
All these things paralysed them with terror.
For the whole world *beside* was enlightened with clear light, 20
And was occupied with unhindered works;
While over them alone was spread a heavy night, 21
An image of the darkness that should afterward receive them;
But yet heavier than darkness were they unto themselves.
But for thy holy ones there was great light; **18**
And *the Egyptians*, hearing their voice but seeing not their form,

[1] Or, *a hollow*

19. *crashing of rocks*] Falling stones would give forth a sound as of thunder.

swift course of animals] A sudden movement among the flocks or herds, not seen but only heard, was enough to suggest the horrors of xi. 17—19.

an echo rebounding] Skilful use is made of the terrifying effect of echo in an enclosed space in the dark in Judg. vii. 20.

paralysed them] Vulg. has *deficientes faciebant*, cp. Ps. liii. 5.

20. *the whole world*] The darkness was local, not universal. The writer oscillates between the two conceptions of a darkness moral rather than physical, and one local rather than universal. It is undoubtedly difficult to explain the distinction between the circumstances of the Egyptians and the Israelites in Ex. x. 23 on physical grounds, although some would see in the darkness the effect of the electrical wind called *hamsin*.

was occupied] συνέχεσθαι as in Acts xviii. 5.

21. *the darkness that should...receive them*] i.e. in Hades. For the phrase, cp. vii. 30. For darkness in connection with death, see *v.* 14; Ps. lxxxviii. 12. Hades *receives* souls, ch. xvi. 14 c, Tobit xiv. 10.

heavier than darkness were they unto themselves] Cp. Dt. xxviii. 28, 29. Contrast with Philo, *Mut.* § 1 "The things of the mind are their own light," and cp. id. *Somn.* i. 19. Conscience made the Egyptians to be their own darkness.

xviii. **1.** *thy holy ones*] The Israelites, cp. x. 15.

great light] Ex. x. 23; cp. Is. ix. 1. See Philo, *Somn.* i. 19, and the *Targum* quoted in note on xvii. 5.

hearing...seeing not] Cp. Dt. iv. 12; St John v. 37. The Egyptians could not see how the Israelites were faring, but they could hear their voices, and inferred that the same calamities had befallen them. That

Counted it a happy thing that they too had suffered,
2 Yet for that they do not hurt them *now*, though wronged *by them* before, they are thankful;
And because they had been at variance *with them*, they made supplication *to them*.
3 Whereas thou didst provide *for thy people* a burning pillar of fire,
To be a guide for *their* unknown journey,
And withal a [1]kindly sun for *their* [2]proud exile.

[1] Gr. *unharmful.* [2] Or, *aspiring*

they, no less than themselves, had been plagued, gave the Egyptians their one ray of comfort: "they counted it a happy thing that they too had suffered." This must be the interpretation, if ὅτι μὲν οὖν (ℵBC) is accepted as in text; but in that case οὖν is untranslated. It is better with A and Vulg. to read οὐ "The Egyptians congratulated the Israelites that they had not suffered." The contrast suggested by μὲν, δὲ is more forcible if A is followed; in this case, it is assumed that the Egyptians knew that the experiences of the Israelites were different from their own.

2. *they are thankful*] Historic present, graphically used. While the Egyptians were glad the Israelites had suffered, they were thankful they did not make reprisals for the ill-treatment of many years. Under the cover of the protracted night, they might have inflicted serious damage.

because...at variance] This is the best rendering of a doubtful phrase. Others are (1) Vulg. *ut esset differentia, donum petebant.* (2) Besought them (the Israelites) the favour of departing, cp. Ex. xi. 8, xii. 33. Ex. x. 24 is in favour of (2), but this rendering strains the Greek.

3. *Whereas*] i.e. instead of all the terrors of darkness. Vulg. *propter quod* wrongly.

burning pillar of fire] Ex. xiii. 21, xiv. 24; Ps. lxxviii. 14, cv. 39.

To be a guide] "The sons of Israel were protected by seven clouds of glory on their four sides: one above them, that neither hail nor rain might fall upon them, nor that they should be burned by the heat of the sun: one beneath them, that they might not be hurt by thorns, serpents or scorpions: and one went before them, to make the valleys even, and the mountains low, and to prepare them a place of habitation." *Jerus. Targum*, Etheridge, p. 478. Cp. x. 17, and Philo, *Mos.* i. 29 "A cloud, in form like a massive pillar, went before the people, with a light as of the sun by day and as of fire by night, that they might not wander, but might follow an unerring *guide*."

a kindly sun] It gave light, but no smiting heat, cp. Is. xlix. 10. See quot. from Targum in prec. *v.* Vulg. takes ἀβλαβῆ as governing the genitive, quite legitimately, *sine laesura boni hospitii*, "a sun that harmed them not in their honourable banishment." Banishment, usually a disgrace, was in this case an honour.

For well did [1]the Egyptians deserve to be deprived of light 4
and imprisoned by darkness,
They who had kept in close ward thy sons,
Through whom the incorruptible light of the law was to be
given to [2]the race of men.

After they had taken counsel to slay the babes of the holy 5
ones,
And when a single child had been cast forth and saved [3]to
convict *them of their sin*,

[1] Gr. *they.* [2] Or, *future time* Gr. *the age.*
[3] Or, *to be* to them *a rebuke*

proud] (marg. *aspiring*) perhaps in relation to God, cp. Ex. xiv. 4, 17.

4. *well did...deserve*] Another illustration of the principle in ch. xi. 16. Those who had sinned by shutting Israel in the darkness of captivity, must be punished with physical darkness.

thy sons] See Ex. iv. 22.

incorruptible light of the law] The law in its widest sense (cp. Is. i. 10, ii. 3), "including all Divine revelation as the guide of life." See Introd. to Ps. cxix. in this series. *incorruptible* in the moral sense, without reference to duration, cp. Ps. xix. 7. For *light* in a similar sense, cp. Is. ii. 5; Ps. xxxvi. 9; Eph. v. 8.

given to the race of men] Or, the *world*. For *alŵv* (the world regarded in its time-aspect), see notes on iv. 2, xiv. 6. This line recognises the world-wide mission of the Jewish nation, cp. Ps. xxii. 27; Is. ix. 2, xlii. 6, xlix. 6; Micah iv.; Tobit xiii. 11. Philo (*Abr.* § 19) writes that he considers the Jewish people to hold the office of priest and prophet on behalf of all the human race. Cp. id. *Mos.* i. 27.

CH. XVIII. 5—25. A FOURTH CONTRAST IS PRESENTED BETWEEN THE FORTUNES OF ISRAEL AND EGYPT, THE SUBJECT BEING DEATH. THE DISCIPLINE PROVED EFFECTIVE FOR ISRAEL IMMEDIATELY THE SCOURGE BEGAN TO OPERATE.

vv. 5—19. THE DEATH OF THE FIRSTBORN.

Gutberlet notes a threefold contrast. (1) The Egyptians who had killed the male children of Israel, lost their firstborn. (2) Those who had used the Nile to drown Israel's children, were themselves drowned in the Red Sea. (3) The rescue of one child resulted in widespread destruction for his would-be murderers.

5. *to slay the babes*] Ex. i. 16. *the holy ones*, see *v.* 1.

a single child...cast forth] Moses, see Ex. ii. 3. Cp. perhaps ch. xi. 14. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9) writes that at the time of the birth of Moses a wise man had warned Pharaoh that a child would be born in

Thou tookest away from them their multitude of children,
And destroyedst all *their host* together in a mighty flood.
6 Of that night were our fathers made aware beforehand,
That, having sure knowledge, they might be cheered by the oaths which they had trusted:

Israel who, "if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites." With the policy adopted by Pharaoh, cp. that of Herod, St Matt. ii. 1 ff. Farrar is wrong in suggesting that the writer holds that Moses (*one child*) was the only child exposed: he was the only one exposed and saved.

to convict] See marg. *to be* to them *a rebuke*. Grimm prefers to connect these words with *saved* rather than with the succeeding clause.

tookest away...children] Ex. xii. 29, 30. The rescue of one led to the death of many. The Gk. vb. governs a double acc.

together] Vulg. renders *pariter*, but the word means *wholesale*. *Destroyedst* has for its object the acc. which stands at the beginning of the *v.* in the Gk., *them having taken counsel to kill*. The point of this line is that as the Israelite children perished by water, so the Egyptians died by the same element, Ex. i. 22. Another example of the principle in xi. 16. For the punishments by water, cp. ch. x. 19, xi. 6.

Charles (*Jubilees*, p. lxxiv) has an interesting note on this *v.*, and would correct thus, "In retribution for even a single child that was exposed Thou didst take away ten thousand Egyptians." He holds that either Jub. xlviii. 14 was before the writer, or the two passages are based on a common tradition, that for every Hebrew child exposed, a thousand Egyptians were doomed to be drowned.

6. *that night*] *That* points dramatically to a night so well known as to need no further definition. Cp. Ex. xii. 42 LXX.

our fathers] The writer in a way most unusual for him identifies himself with the Israelites. He has been strictly impersonal hitherto except in xv. 1—4. The fathers are either the Israelite heads of families, who were forewarned of the death of the firstborn, Ex. vi. 6, xi. 4 ff., xii. 21 ff. or (perhaps better) the patriarchs, to whom the deliverance from bondage was revealed, see Gen. xv. 14, xxvi. 3, cp. Ps. cv. 8 ff. "The fathers" is a term not applied in this book to the people generally, but to the patriarchs three times, ix. 1, xii. 21, xviii. 22. Further, *v.* 7 would be an otiose repetition of this *v.*, if *people* in that *v.* were identical with *fathers* in this. For the interest of the patriarchs in the future, cp. Heb. xi. 39, 40; 1 Pet. i. 11.

having sure knowledge] Cp. Acts ii. 30, where David, in the spirit of prophecy, "knows."

might be cheered] Vulg. *animaequiores essent*. The prospect afforded the patriarchs a kind of Pisgah-gladness, cp. St John viii. 56.

oaths...trusted] They could rejoice, because God's oath was as sure a ground of satisfaction as the accomplished fact.

So by thy people was expected salvation of the righteous 7
and destruction of the enemies;
For as thou didst take vengeance on the adversaries, 8
[1]By the same means, calling us unto thyself, thou didst
glorify us.
For holy children [2]of good men offered sacrifice in secret, 9
And with one consent they took upon themselves the
covenant of the [3]divine law,
That [4]they would partake alike in the same good things and
the same perils;

[1] Gr. *By this.* [2] Or, *of blessing* Gr. *of good* men, or, *of good* things. [3] Gr. *law of divineness.* [4] Some authorities read *the saints would partake...perils; already leading the fathers' songs of praise.*

7. *of the righteous*] i.e. the Israelites, cp. "the holy," *vv.* 1, 5. There is a resemblance in *vv.* 7, 8 to a passage in Philo's *Vit. Contempl.* The dance of the Therapeutae, he says, recalls the wonders of the Red Sea. "By the command of God the sea became author of safety for these, and of extermination for those."

8. *calling us unto thyself*] God's intervention on behalf of Israel in the death of the firstborn was an appeal to the people.

9. *holy children*] Note contrast with *children* in last *l.* of *v.* 10. For the epithet, conventionally used, cp. *vv.* 1, 5, x. 17, and x. 20, xii. 9 (the righteous).

of good men] The adj. ἀγαθῶν may be masc. or neut.; see the marginal alternatives. But the writer's habit of seeing good only in his own people raises the presumption that it refers to the patriarchs of *v.* 6, whose praises (see end of *v.*) the Israelites sang that night. If the adj. were neuter, *children of blessing*, παῖδες would be very unusual for τέκνα or υἱοί.

offered sacrifice in secret] The Passover is called a sacrifice in Ex. xii. 27; Dt. xvi. 5; cp. Num. ix. 7. There was no secrecy in the keeping of the first Passover, so far as is recorded. The feast was celebrated in the privacy of the Israelite dwellings, Ex. xii. 46; but that was in order that the family-idea might be emphasized.

with one consent...divine law] This clause governs the acc. and inf. in the next *l.*: it seems better therefore to render "with one consent they covenanted *by* the divine law" (i.e. by the common Passover feast at which they were pledging their mutual fellowship). *the divine law* (lit. as in marg.) is a strange phrase. Vulg. has *iustitiae legem*, standing for ὁσιότητος, which is the reading of ℵ. The precise significance of θειότης in this place is not clear: θειότητος νόμον may be merely a periphrasis for τὸν θεῖον νόμον, i.e. the Divine institution of the Passover.

That they would partake] It is better to read "that the saints would," as in marg. The rhythm of the Greek suggests this arrangement. With "the saints," cp. *vv.* 1, 20. It has been suggested that

The fathers already leading the sacred songs of praise.
10 But there sounded back in discord the cry of the enemies,
[1]And a piteous voice of lamentation for children was borne abroad.
11 And servant along with master punished with a like just doom,
And commoner suffering the same as king,
12 Yea, all *the people* together, under one form of death,

[1] Some authorities read *And was piteously borne abroad in lamentation for children.*

fellowship in prosperity and adversity was symbolised by the common partaking of the dish of bruised fruits (harôṣeth) and of the bitter herbs. But the former does not seem to have been part of the primitive ritual.

The fathers already leading] If this is correct, a contrast is suggested between the exultation of the Israelite fathers, and the woe of the Egyptian, see *v.* 10. But there is no reason given why the sons should sacrifice, and the fathers lead the singing: consequently, the reading of ℵ (second hand) A, followed by Vulg., may be right, see marg. "already leading the fathers' songs of praise." *The fathers* are the patriarchs, see *v.* 6: their *songs of praise* are either the songs they sang, or songs in honour of them. The writer is attributing to those who partook of the first Passover a practice which grew up in later days, but of which there is no trace in Egypt, see 2 Chr. xxx. 21, xxxv. 15. The Hallel, Ps. cxiii.—cxviii., came to be sung at stated times in the course of the Passover celebration, but obviously such a Ps. as cxiv. could not have been sung by the Israelites in Egypt: accordingly the writer pictures them as singing either their fathers' songs, or songs in their honour. Farrar wrongly suggests that *already* is intended to show that the later practice of singing the Hallel had its counterpart in the first celebration: ἤδη defines a point of time in the celebration itself, "while now the singing was in progress."

10. *there sounded back*] Rather, *sounded in answer. in discord*, not "clashing with Isr. songs" (Farrar) but "discordant in itself." The Israelites were all harmonious (*v.* 9 a, b), while the Egyptians were distracted. Every house had its own sorrow.

a piteous voice] Text reads with ℵA φωνή, followed by Vulg. Cp. Ex. xi. 6, xii. 30. *children* is contrasted with *children* in *v.* 9. Marg. follows B, which omits φωνή.

11. See Ex. xii. 29. Etheridge (*Targums* p. 477) gives from the Jerus. Targum "From the firstborn son of Pharaoh...to the sons of the kings who were captives in the dungeon as hostages; and who, for having rejoiced at the servitude of Israel, were punished as the Egyptians." LXX. however makes the captives feminine, and Philo (*Mos.* i. 24) writes "down to the most obscure grinding-maid."

12. *all* the people *together*] Same Greek word as *v.* 5 d. Philo

Had *with them* corpses without number;
For the living were not sufficient even to bury them,
Since at a single [1]stroke their [2]nobler offspring was consumed.
For while they were disbelieving all things by reason of the 13
enchantments,
Upon the destruction of the firstborn they confessed the
people to be God's son.
For while peaceful silence enwrapped all things, 14
And night in her own swiftness was in mid course,
Thine all-powerful word leaped from heaven out of [3]*the* 15
royal [4]throne,
A stern warrior, into the midst of the [5]doomed land,

[1] Gr. *turn of the scale.* [2] Or, *more cherished* [3] Or, thy
[4] Gr. *thrones.* [5] Or, *destroying*

(*Mos.* i. 24) writes "By reason of the universality of the blow all joined in one common lamentation (ὁμοθυμαδόν, as here), and one outcry rang throughout the land from end to end."

the living were not sufficient] A rhetorical amplification of Num. xxxiii. 4. Philo (*Mos.* i. 17) says that this was the case when the Egyptians died of the thirst which resulted from the smiting of the Nile.

their nobler offspring] "the chief of all their strength," Ps. cv. 36. Cp. Ex. iv. 23.

13. This *v.* is loosely joined to the preceding by *For*. The greatness of the calamity was evidenced by its effect.

disbelieving all things] Pharaoh was influenced by the fact that the magicians could do as Moses had done, Ex. vii. 13, 22. But the writer ignores the change in Ex. viii. 19, which affected the magicians themselves.

enchantments] Cp. Ex. vii. 11, viii. 7. For the word, see ch. xii. 4.

God's son] See Ex. iv. 22. Cp. ch. ii. 13, 18. It is not recorded in the Bible that the Egyptians made this acknowledgment, but the writer amplifies Ex. xii. 31.

14. *while peaceful silence*] The coming of the mysterious visitation is described in terms which recall Job iv. 13—15.

in mid course] Ex. xi. 4, xii. 29.

15. *all-powerful word*] For the epithet, see vii. 23, where it is applied to Wisdom. For the meaning of Logos here, see Introd. § 10.

royal throne] lit. *thrones*, plural of dignity. Cp. ix. 4; Dan. vii. 9.

A stern warrior] For the epithet, cp. v. 20, xii. 9. The Logos is called *a warrior* as bearing a sword and being sent on an errand of destruction. The passage is drawn from 1 Chr. xxi. 15 ff. Cp. Hab. iii. 5 "Before Him shall go the word" LXX.

doomed] For the adj. in a pass. sense, see 1 Kings xx. 42.

16 Bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned commandment;
And standing it filled all things with death;
And while it touched the heaven it trode upon the earth.
17 Then forthwith apparitions in dreams terribly troubled them,
And fears came upon them unlooked for:
18 And *each*, one thrown here half dead, another there,
Made manifest wherefore he was dying:
19 For the dreams, perturbing them, did foreshew this,
That they might not perish without knowing why they were afflicted.

20 But it [1]befell the righteous also to make trial of death,

[1] Gr. *touched.*

16. *Bearing as a sharp sword*] The sword of 1 Chr. xxi. 16 is introduced here, and allegorized as God's commandment.

unfeigned] Almost has the meaning of "inflexible." Cp. v. 18 and Heb. iv. 12.

filled...with death] Contrast with Ps. cxlv. 16 LXX.

while it touched] A variant of "between the earth and the heaven," 1 Chr. xxi. 16. Grimm quotes a similar description of Discord from Hom. *Il.* iv. 443, and the version of it applied to Fame in Verg. *Aen.* iv. 177. The same description is found of the pillar of cloud in Philo, *Dec.* § 11; of man in id. *Opif.* § 51; and of a tower of evil in id. *Conf. l.* § 23.

17. *apparitions...and fears*] Cp. Job iv. 13—15; Prov. i. 26, 27.

terribly] So B; and the rhythm makes it probable that this is right: but ℵA followed by Vulg. have *terrible* agreeing with "dreams."

fears] Almost abstract for concrete. Cp. R. Browning, *Prospice*, "The Arch Fear in a visible form."

18. *one thrown here*] The firstborn in each house.

Made manifest wherefore] The next *v.* makes it plain that this *l.* means more than that the dying detailed the mental suffering they were experiencing. They declared that the cause of their death was the wrath of Jehovah.

19. *did foreshew*] Vulg. *praemonebant*, i.e. shewed before they died.

without knowing] Not only were the survivors to recognise God's hand (*v.* 13), but the victims also. The incident of the dreams of the firstborn before death is due to the writer's desire that the guilty should drink the full measure of the cup of judgment, and that none should be excused from acknowledging the hand of God. A painless and unexpected death in sleep would seem to him a futile judgment.

vv. **20—25.** DEATH VISITED ISRAEL, BUT ONLY TO BE DISMISSED AT ONCE.

20. *it befell the righteous*] i.e. the Israelites, as in xviii. 1, 9. The incident referred to is the plague which followed the murmuring against

And a multitude were stricken in the wilderness:
Howbeit the wrath endured not for long.
For a blameless man hasted to be their champion: 21
Bringing the weapon of his own ministry,
Even prayer and the propitiation of incense,
He withstood the indignation, and set an end to the calamity,
Shewing that he was thy servant.

Moses and Aaron after the destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, Num xvi. 44—50. Philo comments on the passage in *Somn.* ii. 35, and *Q. R. D. H.* 42.

trial of death] Cp. *v.* 25. The word implies that the mere taste of death was enough to teach the Israelites the desired lesson.

were stricken] lit. *a breaking* (θραῦσις, the word used of the plague in LXX. Vulg. *commotio*) *took place*, Num. xvi. 47, and Ps. cvi. 30.

the wrath endured not] Cp. xvi. 5. *The wrath* means "a distinct manifestation of the righteous judgment of God," see Bp. Westcott's note on St John iii. 36. The plague was indeed stayed, though not till 14,700 had died.

21. *a blameless man*] Aaron. He is styled *blameless* for official reasons, because he represented God, cp. *a blameless seed*, x. 15. Possibly, there is also a personal reference, as Aaron was unassociated with the sin of Korah and the subsequent murmuring.

hasted] He ran, Num. xvi. 47. Philo (*Q. R. D. H.* 42) allegorizes Aaron into the divine Logos, who stands in human hearts between holy and unholy thoughts.

their champion] Cp. Job xlii. 8; Ps. xcix. 6, where intercession is spoken of. See note on the intercession and mediation of Moses and Aaron, Ps. xcix. 6, in this series.

the weapon of his own ministry] Not "shield," as Vulg., but, rather, an aggressive weapon, *a sword*. Cp. 2 Cor. x. 4, and Eph. vi. 17, 18 "the sword of the spirit,...praying always." "Ministry" (λειτουργία) is the regular word (cp. Ex. xxxviii. 21) for the ministrations of the priesthood.

prayer] Cp *Jerus. Targum* (Num. xvi.), Etheridge, p. 397 "Aaron stood in the midst,...with the censer, and interceded in prayer."

propitiation of incense] See Num. xvi. 47, and cp. 4 Macc. vii. 11. For the supposed atoning efficacy of incense, cp. the ritual of the Day of Atonement, when the high priest, on entering into the holy place, was safeguarded by incense, Lev. xvi. 12, 13.

withstood the indignation] Aaron's act was counted as one of heroism. He withstood God, but with God's own weapons. Wrapped in the smoke of the incense, he was secure in the midst of the divine wrath. For *the indignation*, cp. Rom. xii. 19.

thy servant] Aaron proved to the destroyer that he was God's

22 And he overcame the [1]anger,
Not by strength of body, not by efficacy of weapons;
But [2]by word did he subdue [3]the minister of punishment,
By bringing to remembrance oaths and covenants made with the fathers.
23 For when the dead were already fallen in heaps one upon another,

[1] The word rendered *anger* differs only by the transposition of two letters from the reading of the Greek text, which here yields no sense. [2] Or, *to a word did he subject* [3] Gr. *him who was punishing.*

servant (*θεράπων*, a term of greater distinction than *δοῦλος*) by the sacred ornaments of his office, see *v.* 24. For *servant*, applied here only to Aaron, see x. 16. Cp. 1 Kings xviii. 36.

22. *overcame the anger*] MSS. *ὄχλον*, Vulg. *turbas*, which seems to give no sense. R.V. accordingly adopts the conj. emend. *χόλον*, *anger*, which only involves a transposition of letters. But in 4 Macc. vii. 11 it is said that Aaron conquered the angel of the Burning, while in the *l.* below this occurs "the minister of punishment." Why should not *τὸν ὀχλοῦντα* ("the harasser") be read? This word is used of the visitations of evil spirits in Tob. vi. 7; cp. St Luke vi. 18. To "conquer the harassing angel" is at least as likely to be right as to "conquer the wrath," anger having already been referred to in *v.* 21. If it were not that the writer says practically nothing about angels, we might emend *ὄχλον* to *ἄγγελον* ("angel") from 4 Macc. vii. 11.

by word did he subdue] His weapons were spiritual and not physical, cp. 2 Cor. x. 4. Philo curiously calls Phinehas Logos (*Conf. l.* § 13) and calls his javelin Logos (*Mut.* § 18), but he does not apply the same term to Aaron. *Word* here means the word of intercession, see next *l.* and cp. Ex. xxxii. 13.

the minister of punishment] Called an angel in 4 Macc. vii. 11. See note on *word*, *v.* 15. There is some indeterminateness of language in the passage: Aaron withstood "the anger"; he subdued "the punisher." It is plain that the distinction between God and His Logos (see *v.* 25) is quite undefined.

bringing to remembrance] For a typical example of intercession, see Ex. xxxii. 13. The writer probably has in mind something more than the promises of God to the fathers (Ex. ii. 24; Lev. xxvi. 42): he thinks of Aaron pleading the merits of the fathers. Developed Rabbinic teaching exalted the merits of the fathers till they served for the whole nation. Cp. Sanday and Headlam, *Romans* pp. 330—332, from which the following quotation is taken "As the vine supports itself on a trunk which is dry, so Israel supports itself on the merit of the fathers, although they already sleep" (Wajjikra rabba c. 36).

23. *fallen in heaps*] For *σωρηδόν*, cp. Philo, *Mos.* i. 17.

Standing between he stopped the *advancing* wrath,
And [1]cut off the way to the living.
For upon *his* long *high-priestly* robe was the whole world, 24
And the glories of the fathers *were* upon the graving of the four rows of [2]precious stones,
And thy majesty *was* upon the diadem of his head.

[1] Gr. *cleft asunder.* [2] Gr. *stone.*

between] i.e. between living and dead, Num. xvi. 48.

he stopped] The Greek word is used in Thuc. iv. 12 for *beating back* an assailant.

cut off] He cut through it (lit.) as if he were breaking down a bridge, so that the destroyer could not pass.

24. his *long* high-priestly *robe*] Aaron's robes were symbolic, and caused his intervention to be successful. The *robe down to the feet* is the long high-priestly robe of blue, fringed with bells and pomegranates. Strictly speaking this robe was not quite ποδήρης (i.e. reaching to the feet), but this is the word applied to it in Ex. xxviii. 4 LXX. The real full-length robe was the white linen garment of 1 Sam. ii. 28, there called *ephod*. But the *ephod* proper was the very elaborate "waistcoat" described in Ex. xxviii. 6—12.

was the whole world] The blue "robe of the *ephod*" allegorically represented the world for Jewish commentators. Cp. Philo, *Mos.* ii. 12 "The whole robe is blue, a picture of the air. The air is naturally deep-coloured, and is a full-length robe, for it flows from sky to earth. The flowers on it symbolize earth, and the pomegranates water, and the bells the fusion of earth and water....Of the three elements, earth, air, water, of which and in which created beings have their being, the long robe with its hangings is a true representation. As the robe is one, so the three elements are of one category: and as the flowers and the pomegranates hang from the robe, so in some fashion earth and water hang from the air, for it is their vehicle." See also id. *Somn.* i. 37, and Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7. 7. The interpretation is fantastic, and is not the same in Philo as in Josephus, but the connection between their accounts is sufficient to show that they represent traditional views as to the meaning of the priestly garments.

the glories of the fathers] For the high priest's breast-plate, see Ex. xxviii. 15—21, 29; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7. 5. Philo (*Mos.* ii. 12) sees in it a symbol of the zodiac, which represents four seasons of three months; Josephus, of the earth, which is in the middle of the world. On each of the twelve stones was inscribed the name of one of the tribes of Israel: the names of the patriarchs are *the glories of the fathers*, whose doings were symbolised by their names.

the diadem of his head] Over the linen mitre of the high priest was fastened a golden crown (πέταλον, a plate), on which was inscribed (Ex. xxviii. 36) "Holiness to the Lord." Philo (*Mos.* ii. 11 and 14) writes that the four letters of the sacred tetragrammaton were upon it,

25 To these the destroyer gave place, and these [1]*the people* feared;
For it was enough only to make trial of the wrath.

19 But upon the ungodly there came unto the end indignation without mercy;

[1] Some authorities read *he feared.*

in order that the name of "Him who is" might symbolize that the world can only be sustained by the will of God. God's Name is *His majesty.*

25. *To these the destroyer gave place*] The high priest thus stood before the destroying angel clothed in the symbols of the world, the fathers, and God, and prevailed over the destroyer. Just as the Psalmists plead with God "for His Name's sake," that God would remember what He is and has proclaimed Himself to be, so here Aaron confronts God's agent with God's creation, God's chosen, and God Himself (in symbol), cp. Ex. xxviii. 38.

the destroyer] Probably the Logos, as in *v.* 15; cp. Num. xvi. 45 "that *I* may destroy them"; see Ex. xii. 23; Heb. xi. 28.

these the people *feared*] R.V. rightly follows BC, lit. *they feared.* ℵ (second hand) A and Vulg. have *he* feared, whence it is argued that the destroying angel must have been an evil spirit or he would not have feared. But the order of the words is against this rendering: it would be "He feared and yielded." The double *these* is unnecessarily rhetorical with only one subject for the two verbs. For *feared*, cp. Ex. xiv. 31: the sight of the sacred symbols upon the high priest brought the people back to their allegiance. Just as (ch. xvi.) they were stung in order that they might be reminded of God's oracles, and God's mercy passed by and healed them, so here they were punished for forgetfulness of God, and saved when Aaron had recalled to them God's name and His oath.

enough only to make trial] Cp. *v.* 20, and xvi. 5, 6. The people feared, because no more was needed to awaken them than the mere preliminary taste of death. They were not like the Egyptians, who needed to drain the cup to its dregs.

Ch. XIX. 1—21.

The fifth comparison between the Israelites and Egyptians, the subject being the passage of the Red Sea.

vv. 1—5. The incapacity of the Egyptians to learn the lesson of experience.

1. *the ungodly*] i.e. the Egyptians: contrast with xviii. 20 "the righteous."

came unto the end] Cp. xvi. 5, and 1 Thess. ii. 16.

For their future also *God* foreknew,
How that, having changed their minds to *let thy people* go, 2
And having speeded them eagerly on their way,
They would repent themselves and pursue them.
For while they were yet in the midst of their mourning, 3
And making lamentation at the graves of the dead,
They drew upon themselves another counsel of folly,
And pursued as fugitives those whom with intreaties they had cast out.
For [1]the doom which they deserved was drawing them [2]unto 4
this end,

[1] Or, *their desert by necessity was*
[2] Some authorities read *unto this at last.*

without mercy] In ch. xii. 10 God's knowledge of the wickedness of the heathen is given as a reason for His mercy: here, His foreknowledge of their future wilfulness is the reason why He put no check upon His wrath.

God *foreknew*] The subj. is supplied out of *indignation* in prec. *l.*

2. *changed their minds to* let thy people *go*] So ℵB, reading ἐπιστρέψαντες. ἐπιτρέψαντες, *having allowed*, the reading of ℵ (second hand) A and Vulg. *cum permisissent*, is probably a correction. Grimm would render "having thought anxiously over their departure."

speeded them eagerly] Cp. Acts xx. 38, xxi. 5. An allusion to the presents which the Egyptians showered upon the Israelites at their departure, Ex. xii. 35, 36. Philo (*Mos.* i. 24) pictures the distracted Egyptians urging their rulers to hasten their going out.

repent themselves] Ex. xiv. 5.

3. *in the midst of*] lit. *having it in their hands*, cp. ix. 16. For the embalming process, see Herodotus ii. 85–88. Cp. ch. xviii. 12.

drew upon themselves] same Gk. verb as in i. 12.

counsel of folly] For *counsel* in a (bad) moral sense, cp. i. 3 note on *thoughts*. The natural revulsion of feeling, consequent upon the realisation of the departure of Israel, was perhaps supplemented by the hope that ignorance of the country would lead them into a trap. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 15. 3) explains the tactics of the Egyptians in their pursuit, and the *Jerus. Targum* (Etheridge, p. 485) has: "Pharaoh said, The people of the house of Israel are bewildered in the land: the idol Zephon hath shut them in close upon the desert."

pursued] Ex. xiv. 8.

they had cast out] Same word, implying haste, as in Ex. xii. 39 LXX. *with intreaties*, cp. Ex. xii. 33.

4. *the doom which they deserved*] "Necessity" here is not a fate predetermined, and laid upon men by an arbitrary exterior power, but the inevitable sequence of cause and effect, cp. *v.* 13. Such necessity can only be "deserved," for by its law no man reaps or can reap other

And it made them forget the things that had befallen them,
That they might fill up the punishment which was yet
wanting to their torments,
5 And that thy people might [1]journey on by a marvellous road,
But they *themselves* might find a strange death.

6 For the whole creation, *each part* in its several kind, was
fashioned again anew,

[1] Some authorities read *make trial of*.

harvest than he has sown. For the law of affinity, cp. i. 16, vi. 16, xi. 16. The marginal rendering has little probability.

made them forget] What they were was the cause of their forgetfulness: the justice that sinners cannot escape from (ch. xiv. 31) blinded them to consequences as it had deadened their memory. *The things that had befallen them* are the plagues generally, and the death of the firstborn in particular. It was not vengeance that prompted the pursuit, says the writer; it was greed (see Ex. xiv. 5 end). Egypt could not afford to lose the forced labour of a nation of serfs.

That they might fill up] Cp. Phil. ii. 30; Col. i. 24. Deane quotes excellently 2 Macc. vi. 14 "when they have attained unto the full measure of their sins." Farrar writes "The problems of predestination and freewill presented themselves to the Jews more often in a national than an individual aspect; and when the ruin of another nation tended to the advantage of Israel, the sense of national, and much more of individual, pity was modified, if not obliterated, by patriotic gratitude. The Jew had so intense a conviction that his own people were the firstborn of Jehovah, that he could hardly keep steadily in view the impartial love of God."

5. *a marvellous road*] Cp. xviii. 3, lit. *wayfaring*: same Greek word as in St John iv. 6. If the journeying of the Israelites was unprecedented, so was the death that awaited the Egyptians.

vv. 6—12. AN IMAGINATIVE ACCOUNT OF THE EXODUS.

6. *For*] Introduces the section which is an expansion of *v.* 5.

was fashioned again anew] Vulg. *refigurabatur*. The writer explains the miracle of the passage of the Red Sea by the philosophical doctrine of the mutual interchange of the elements. As in xvi. 21, 25, nothing new came into being when a miracle occurred: there was only a transmutation of elements, in some ways comparable to that which is now suggested by physicists between radium and helium. Epict. (iii. 24) writes "This cosmos is one city, and its constituent substance is one, and there must needs be a certain periodicity and surrender of one thing to another, some things being dissolved and others combining, some things standing still and others moving"; and again (fr. viii.) "This variability is partaken of by both men and animals; and not

Ministering to *thy* several commandments,
That thy [1]servants might be guarded free from hurt.
Then was beheld the cloud that shadowed the camp, 7
And dry land rising up out of what before was water,
Out of the Red sea an unhindered highway,
And a grassy plain out of the violent surge;
[2]By which they passed over with all their hosts, 8
These that were covered with thy hand,
Having beheld strange marvels.
For like horses they roamed at large, 9

[1] Or, *children* [2] Or, *Through*

only they but the gods and the four elements are turned *up and down* in their transmutations, so that earth becomes water, and water air, and air *again* turns into aether: and the same process of transmutation takes place in the reverse way (*ἄνωθεν κάτω*)." *The whole creation* (for the phrase, cp. Rom. viii. 22) is involved in one miracle, because the writer regards the quantity of matter as constant. Any partial disturbance is followed by a corresponding reaction throughout the whole mass.

again anew] For the pleonastic phrase, cp. Gal. iv. 9. *ἄνωθεν* also contains the philosophic sense of "from top to bottom": but "from above," in the theological sense of St John iii. 31, is plainly not the sense here.

thy *several commandments*] So text with BC, reading *ἰδίαις*, i.e. the law laid upon each part of the creation. But ℵA foll. by Vulg. have *σαῖς* ("thy"), which might have been replaced by *ἰδίαις* through a confusion with *ἰδίῳ* in the *l.* above. This makes a simpler sense "ministering to thy comm.," cp. xvi. 24; xviii. 16.

free from hurt] Same Greek word (in pass. sense) as in xviii. 3 (active).

7. *that shadowed*] Num. ix. 18, 22; Ps. cv. 39.

dry land rising up...unhindered highway...grassy plain] Various legendary embellishments of the Scriptural narrative grew up among the Jews. Grimm quotes a Passover prayer, which speaks of springs of sweet water, fruit-laden trees, and fragrant odours cheering the path through the waters. Philo has only (*Mos.* ii. 34) "They walked through the sea on a dry path and a stone paved road: for the sand grew dry, and its seed-like substance coalesced."

8. *with all their hosts*] So ℵB, but AC (foll. by Vulg.) have *the whole people* (*πᾶν ἔθνος*), in appos. to the subj. of the verb.

covered with thy hand] Cp. v. 16 c. and Is. li. 16 "I will cover thee under the shadow of my hand" LXX.

9. *like horses*] Cp. Is. lxiii. 13. *roamed* more correctly as Vulg. *depaverunt* (*escam*), they "roamed at pasture."

And they skipped about like lambs,
Praising thee, O Lord, who wast their deliverer.
10 For they still remembered the things that came to pass in the time of their sojourning,
How that instead of [1]bearing [2]cattle the land brought forth [3]lice,
And instead of [4]fish the river cast up a multitude of frogs.
11 But afterwards they saw also a new [5]race of birds,
When, led on by desire, they asked for luxurious dainties;
12 For, to solace them, there came up for them quails from the sea.

13 And upon the sinners came the punishments

[1] Or, *birth of cattle* [2] Gr. *living creatures.* [3] Or, *sand flies*
[4] Gr. *creatures of the waters.* [5] Or, *production* Gr. *generation.*

skipped about] Cp. Ps. cxiv. 4, and Mal. iv. 2.

wast their deliverer] So ℵB, rather than as AC (foll. by Vulg. *liberasti*) "hadst delivered them."

Praising thee, O Lord] See Ex. xv. 1—19; and Philo, *Mos.* ii. 34.

10. *still remembered*] The memories of the Israelites were very short, cp. xvi. 11: but the miracles of land and water at the passage of the Red Sea recalled the special plagues through land and water in Egypt.

instead of bearing cattle] The normal products of the earth were replaced by abnormal. There is a contrast between Gen. i. 24 and Ex. viii. 17.

brought forth lice] For the generic use of the singular, cp. "the frog," Ex. viii. 6.

instead of fish] So Vulg. *pro piscibus*, but marg. translates literally. Fish are the characteristic product of water, Gen. i. 20, 21: on this occasion the water teemed with amphibians. The Greek word (Vulg. *eructauit*, *belched forth*) comes from Ex. viii. 3, and is a variant in R for *swarmed with* in Ps. cv. 30 LXX.

11. *afterwards they saw*] A loose and hardly logical continuation of the amplification of "*having beheld*" in *v.* 8.

new race of birds] Marg. *production*, cp. Vulg. *creaturam*, is better, because there was nothing new about the quails as birds, though the extraordinary quantity and the unfailing supply were undoubtedly new, cp. xvi. 2; Ex. xvi. 11; Num. xi. 18.

led on by desire] Cp. Num. xi. 34.

asked for] Ps. cv. 40. The writer ignores the Scriptural account (Num. xi. 4—23), and treats the sending of the quails as a gracious answer to a reasonable request.

12. *to solace them*] Cp. Philo, *Mos.* i. 37.

there came up...quails from the sea] See ch. xvi. 2, 3. Cp. Ex. xvi. 13, and Num. xi. 31. The quails came from the sea, not in the sense of

Not without the tokens that were given [1]beforehand by the force of the thunders;
For justly did they suffer through their own wickednesses,
For [2]grievous indeed was the hatred which they practised toward guests.

[1] Some authorities omit *beforehand.* [2] Or, *yet more grievous was*

v. 10 (although perhaps the writer had some such idea in his mind as that the coming of the quails from the sea was an analogous reversal of nature to those in *v.* 10), but because they had crossed over the sea in one of their annual migrations, and dropped down tired as soon as they reached the shore.

vv. **13—17.** THE PUNISHMENT OF THE EGYPTIANS FOR THEIR VIOLATION OF HOSPITALITY TO ISRAEL.

13. *And upon the sinners*] i.e. the Egyptians. This section follows upon the previous one, (*a*) depending upon *they remembered v.* 10, (*b*) providing a contrast with *v.* 12; to the Israelites came solace, to the Egyptians punishment; and (*c*) being suggested by the mention of the Red Sea *v.* 7, which was a blessing to Israel and the reverse to Egypt.

that were given beforehand] Text reads with ℵAC Vulg. The destruction of the Egyptians was preceded by signs of the divine anger.

the force of the thunders] There was a Jewish tradition that the drowning of the Egyptians occurred after or during a great war of the elements, cp. Ps. lxxvii. 16—19; Ex. xiv. 24 (see *Jerus. Targum*, Etheridge, p. 489 "The Lord looked forth...from the column of fire, to hurl upon them flakes of fire and hail"); and Jos. (*Ant.* ii. 16. 3) "Showers of rain also came down from the sky, and dreadful thunders and lightning with flashes of fire. Thunderbolts also were darted upon them: nor was there any indication of God's wrath which did not happen at this time. For a dark and dismal night oppressed them."

justly did they suffer] Dramatic justice is always appreciated by Jewish writers, cp. 2 Macc. ix. 6, xiii. 8. The justice of the punishment is shown by comparing it with that of Sodom. The men of Sodom violated the sanctities of hospitality, Gen. xix., and were punished by the descent of fire and the irruption of the Dead Sea: a similar fate came upon the Egyptians.

grievous indeed] Vulg. *detestabiliorem*, as marg., probably rightly, for the comparison is being pointed to the disadvantage of the Egyptians. The Egyptians were even worse than the men of Sodom, or any other people who had been false to their guests. Philo (*Mos.* i. 7) writes "They came to dwell in Egypt under guarantee of security, and Pharaoh enslaved them as if they had been taken captive in war or bought from slave-dealers, and he treated as slaves those who were not only free but guests, suppliants, and resident foreigners, with never a thought of his obligation to the god of freedom, of hospitality, of sanctuary, and of the hearth."

14 [1]For whereas the *men of Sodom* received not [2]the strangers
when they came among *them*;
[3]The Egyptians made slaves of guests who were their bene-
factors.
15 And not only so, *but God* shall [4]visit [5]the men of Sodom
after another sort,
Since they received as enemies them that were aliens;
16 Whereas these *first* welcomed with feastings,
And *then* afflicted with dreadful toils,
Them that had already shared *with them* in the same rights.

[1] The Greek text of this and the following verse is perhaps corrupt. [2] Gr. *them who knew them not.* [3] Gr. *These.* [4] Or, *visit them... sort; since* the men of Sodom *received...aliens* [5] Gr. *them.*

14. *whereas the* men of Sodom] lit. *they.* The writer as usual expects his readers to interpret his allusions.

received not] Vulg. *recipiebant*, i.e. "were not for receiving." The writer suggests that the men of Sodom did not wish to receive the angel visitors.

the strangers] Text renders with Vulg. *ignotos, unknown.* Marg. gives the lit. translation "them who knew them not."

made slaves of] Cp. Philo, *Somn.* i. 18 "thou didst seize Israel, making a slave by compulsion of him who by nature is free."

guests who were their benefactors] The Israelites might be spoken of as *benefactors* because both of their great ancestor Joseph, and of their services rendered during the years of their captivity: they were *guests* inasmuch as they had been invited to come into Egypt, Gen. xlv. 17, 18. *vv.* 14—16 seem to be written in a not altogether dispassionate strain, and point perhaps to a lingering sense of the injustices frequently perpetrated by the Egyptians upon the Jews resident in Egypt.

15. but God...*after another sort*] Vulg. *sed et alius quidam* suggests the conjecture adopted by R.V. *οὐ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἄλλη τις*, lit. *there shall be another visitation of them.* The writer's special pleading carries him on to making excuses for Sodom, and asserting that extenuating circumstances are to be found. Visitation (*ἐπισκοπή*) is used in a good sense, cp. iii. 7, iv. 15. The men of Sodom are pictured as receiving their visitants under constraint *as enemies*: there was uncompromising hostility from the first, and consequently no change of face: they treated their guests as they had received them. They did not add fickleness to their crimes, cp. Philo, *Conf. l.* § 8.

16. The Egyptians began in one way, and ended in another. *with feastings*, cp. Gen. xlv. 17—20, xlvii. 1—12. The contrast is heightened by this fanciful embellishment of the scriptural account.

with dreadful toils] Ex. i. and v.

shared...the same rights] Possibly civil privileges, as was the case under the Ptolemies, cp. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1.

And moreover they were stricken with loss of sight 17
(Even as were those *others* at the righteous man's doors),
When, being compassed about with yawning darkness,
They sought every one the passage through his own door.
For as the notes of a psaltery vary the character of the 18
rhythm,
Even so *did* the elements, changing their order one with another,
Continuing always *the same*, *each* in its *several* sound;
As may clearly be [1]divined from the sight of the things that are come to pass.

[1] Gr. *conjectured.*

17. *stricken with loss of sight*] Cp. Dt. xxviii. 28. Another correspondence between the men of Sodom and of Egypt. Philo uses this Greek expression of the Egyptian darkness (*Somn.* i. 18). *Even as... those*, i.e. the men of Sodom, Gen. xix. 11, cp. Philo, *Conf. l.* § 8.

the righteous man] Lot, cp. x. 6.

yawning darkness] Vulg. *subitaneis tenebris.* The meaning of ἀχανής is not certain. Probably it is as in text, or perhaps *speechless*, i.e. reducing to speechlessness.

vv. 18—21. A REVERSION TO THE SUBJECT OF THE MIRACLES IN *vv.* 6—12.

18. Grammatically this verse is difficult to unravel, though in sense it is quite simple. Farrar rightly says the obscurity arises from the confusion of the comparison with the thing to which it is compared. The full sentence would read: "For the elements, changing their order one with another, [but continuing always the same, vary their combinations], just as the notes of a psaltery, continuing always the same, each in its several sound, vary the character of the rhythm." The idea is that the relations in which a thing stands can modify completely the effect which it produces: the notes of the instrument, in whatever key they are played, are the same notes, but the alteration of their relations seems (but only seems) entirely to have altered their sound.

the elements, changing] Cp. *v.* 6, and xvi. 21, 25. See Philo, *Mos.* i. 17; 28 "Each of the elements rendered obedience as to a master, changing its power and submitting to his decrees"; ii. 12 "The three elements all undergo variations and transmutations."

Continuing...sound] *Continuing* is neuter, agreeing with *elements*, though properly referring to *notes* as is shown by "each in its several sound." For the musical comparison, see Philo, *Post. C.* § 32 "Just as instruments change in accordance with the endless combinations of sound, so does the Logos vary." For the word, cp. Ps. xxxiii. 2 LXX., where the psaltery is spoken of as ten stringed.

As may clearly be divined] The incidents of the Exodus are adduced

19 For creatures of the dry land were turned into creatures of the waters,
And creatures that swim trode *now* upon the earth:
20 Fire kept the mastery of its own power in *the midst of* water,
And water forgat its quenching nature:
21 Contrariwise, flames wasted not the flesh of perishable creatures that walked among them;
Neither [1]melted they the [2]ice-like grains of ambrosial food, that were *of nature* apt to melt.

[1] The Greek authorities read *could be melted*. The Latin seems to have preserved the original Greek text. [2] Gr. *ice-like kind*.

as evidence that the philosophic theory of interchange between the elements was then further illustrated: see next *v*.

19. *creatures of the dry land*] The Israelites and their cattle passed through the waters, obtaining for the time the powers of water-dwellers, Ex. xii. 38, xiv. 29; Ps. lxvi. 6. Philo applies the same doctrine of transmutation as in *vv.* 18, 19 to Xerxes at the Hellespont (*Somn.* ii. 17). For the adjectives *of the dry land*, *of the waters* (χερσαῖα, ἔννδρα), cp. Philo, *Q. R. D. H.* § 27.

creatures that swim] This can only refer to the plague of frogs, Ex. viii. 3. Philo writes (*Mos.* i. 18) "It seemed as though nature were planning to send out a colony of water-dwelling creatures into an enemy's country: for dry land and sea are opposed."

20. *kept the mastery*] Vulg. *ualebat supra suam uirtutem*, seems to point to the conjecture πῦρ (ὑπερ)ισχυεν ἐν ὕδατι, i.e. fire waxed more fierce than ever in water. For the ref. see xvi. 17, 19.

its quenching nature] This *l.* is almost a repetition of the preceding. Cp. Philo, *Mos.* i. 20 "The thunder-bolts, shooting through the hail, neither melted it nor were put out themselves, for all the incompatibility of their natures," and id. *Somn.* i. 3 "Springs of boiling water are known in mid sea, which all the water around them could not overcome (σβέσαι), nor even check in the least degree."

21. *flames wasted not*] Cp. xvi. 18. This *v.* and the prec. *v.* are merely repetitions of marvels previously dealt with. As before he postulates that the locusts, flies, etc. were still in existence when the plague of hail was sent. Cp. Dan. iii. 27.

Neither melted they] Vulg. *nec dissoluebant*, points to the true reading οὐδ' ἔτηκον.

icelike...food] For the rather forced comparison of manna to snow and ice, see xvi. 22. *ambrosial* has reference rather to the source (bread from heaven, angels' food, xvi. 20) than to the pleasantness of the manna (xvi. 21). Farrar writes "By reverting to what he has already dwelt on, the writer is able to illustrate his thesis that the elements changed their normal operations: and he thus ends in a blaze of futile paradoxes."

For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people, 22
And thou didst glorify them and not lightly regard them;
Standing by their side in every time and place.

22. *For in all things*] The book comes to an abrupt conclusion with this *v.* It sums up what the writer has been urging through the latter half of the book, viz. that history is conducted on behalf of the chosen people: that Israel is always true to its destiny, and that God is always on the side of Israel.

in every time and place] Even to the writer's own day. There was no reason why the book should end at this place: no culminating point has been reached, at which the argument finds a natural conclusion. A continuation of the interpretation of the history of Israel down to the time of Solomon might have been expected (see ch. vi. 22). But this is not to say that the original ending has been lost. Grimm compares *v.* 22 with the closing words of 3 Macc. "Blessed be the Saviour of Israel unto all times for ever." The brief summary indicates that the later period would be found to illustrate the same principles as the earlier. At the same time it does not offer equal possibilities of dramatic contrast, and therefore any prolongation of the book might only serve to detract from the cogency of the earlier argument. "It is obvious that the scope of the argument is fully satisfied by the investigation of the providential history of the Jews up to the time of the occupation of Canaan, and the last verse furnishes a complete epilogue to the treatise" (Westcott, in Smith's *D. B.*).

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